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OCTOBER 13 2003

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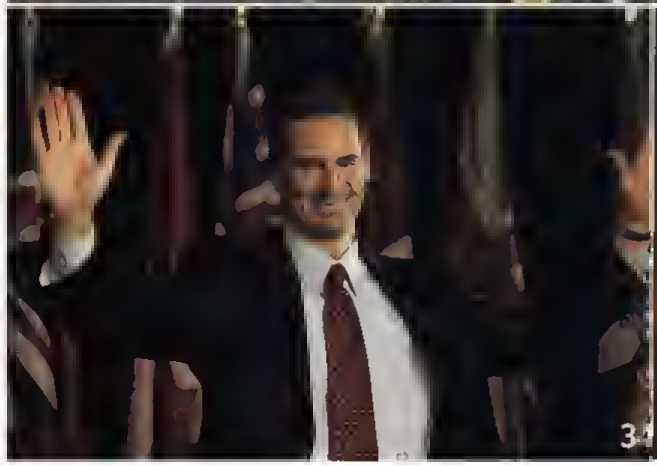
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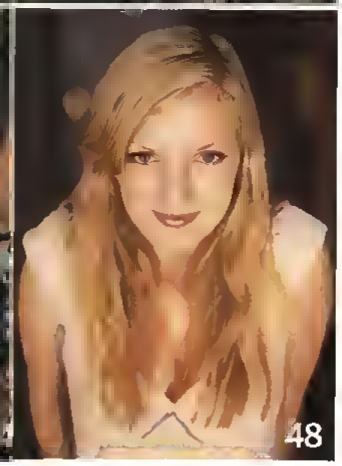
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MACLEAN'S

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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IN HARM'S WAY

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NEIGHBOURLY BEHAVIOUR

George W. Bush is having a tough time. We could gloat—or do something better

IN THE COURSE of a trip to New York last week, I felt, at times, as though I'd never left Canada. There were the same expressions of anger toward government even some rich Republicans I talked to don't have nice things to say about George W Bush—just as I haven't spoken to a single Liberal recently who wants Jean Chrétien to stay in power beyond November. California appears poised to chuck its incumbent leader out of power, just as Ontario did to its Tories last week. Some U.S editorial pages have been replicating our never-ending debate over free trade (as the Republicans become increasingly protectionist), while in Cook County, Ill , the re cent decision to legalize a lesser form of gay marriage is creating the same divisions as the pending legalization of gay marriage has raised here

As a Canadian, it's tempting to be smug and point out that we lead the trend in all those cases But then comes the latest basis for comparison, one that rips at the soul of both countries: after months of watching America agonize over the growing list of soldiers killed in Iraq, we've now been blood ied in Afgharustan with the deaths of two soldiers and the wounding of three others

We've been in a period of profound change in North America for several years—and despite the above comparisons, most of the changes have driven the U S and Canada farther apart The war in Iraq, and the differing stances of Chrétien and Bush, have had a lot to do with that. The PM has seemed to go out of his way to appeal to the anti-Amerıcanism that still sells well to some Canadians—while Bush's administration has made that easy has any other White House ever gone so far to make traditional allies feel so unnecessary and unimportant ?

Eventually, you get what you give in our case, that's a soured relationship with our most important ally In Bush's case, his bellicosity has wide-ranging repercussions at home, he's nose-diving in polls and under sustained media attack for the first time He's had to go hat in hand for help in Iraq to the UN—the same body he scorned till recently His best friend internationally, Tony Blair, has been pilloried by his own party (page 42) precisely because of his support

> **The PM has appealed to the anti-Americanism that sells well to some Canadians—while Bush has made that easy**

But when you strip everything away, the U.S soldiers who died in Iraq and our lost Canadians in Afghanistan gave their lives for much the same reasons When you send peacekeepers into a country, you implicitly agree to the conditions and principles that someone else put in place The U S initiated efforts against the Taliban in Afghanistan, and our support for the new regime is written, and sealed, in blood

Friends are most valuable and appreciated in hard times We made our disapproval clear on unilateral U S action against Iraq—even as there never was good reason to defend Saddam Hussein Now, with Bush under fire, it's still wrong to be smug It's a good time, instead, for Paul Martin to see who will take his calls in the White House, and for Canada to say something nice about the U.S in the UN. Even, perhaps, for the incumbent PM to seek a grace note, and say nice things about a neighbour stricken by the loss of soldiers in a place far from home. Now, after all, that's another reminder—one of the few sad ones—of how much the U S, and Canada have in common

Anthony Wilson-Smith

response@macleans.ca to comment on The Editor's Letter

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'I was expecting to see the first Canadian Idol on the cover. Instead it was plastered with "Cool Cars" that most Canadians cannot afford.' —ARDETH WEXLER, Baie d'Urfé, Que

Cool on cars

It would have been nice to see the cover of the Sept 29 issue read "Cool bicycles," or perhaps "Cool regional integrated transit system for Toronto," instead of "Cool cars" And I had to grimace at the caption calling the Prius "environmentally friendly" at 5 6 litres per 100 km, when Greenpeace is pushing for the three-litre-per-100-km car in Europe Gasoline, a known carcinogen, still powers the vehicle, and it still takes huge amounts of resources to produce any automobile, not to mention the impact cars have had on the fabric of the city The suburbs are paved over wastelands because they are built solely for cars Why does Hollywood director Mel Damski have three hybrids, for God's sake? Because he and his family can't walk anywhere in California

Nicholas Provart, Toronto

"Cool cars" shows us that although our dream cars are a reality, only a tiny minority will be able to afford to have their dreams come true they have become more expensive than they're worth

Char Stacey, Carman Man

"Cool cars" instead of "Cool Ryan"? Was our first Canadian Idol, Ryan Malcolm, not deserving of front-page coverage? You should leave features on cool cars to the "cool car" magazines and bring appropriate recognition to talented Canadians

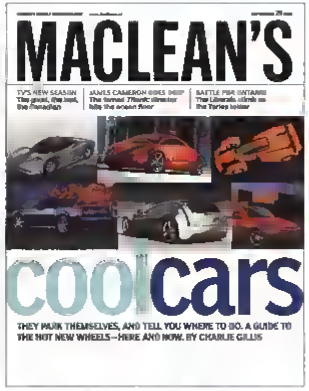
Ingrid Hann, Oakville, Ont.

Canadian Idolatry

I can't help but wonder why you chose to imply that *Canadian Idol* winner Ryan Malcolm is a flash in the pan ("Is that a ticking sound?" Closing Notes, Sept 29) There was no reention in the article of this young man's fantastic voice or his obvious passion when performing

D E. Simmons, Edmonton

Many of Ryan Malcolm's fans are upset by your article on him I think you didn't try to glamorize him and you didn't slam him What bothers me is to hear over and over



in the media how Canadians want to be Canadian and not American, and yet Ryan's fans are saying he is "Canada's Clay Aiken" They compare Ryan to the *American Idol* runner-up every which way Let Ryan be the Canadian Idol with his own style and look, and don't get twisted out of shape if not everyone is a fan

Sharon Day, Kingston Ont

Message from Kabul

While Canadians enjoy their Thanksgiving holiday, some things they should be most thankful for are not even in Canada. Canada has never been ravaged by war; Afghanistan has suffered horribly. We should be thankful our land is not littered with land mines; Afghanistan may be the most heavily mined country in the world. One Afghan medical worker told me he paid only a small price for Afghanistan's freedom (he lost a leg to a land mine). We should be thankful for the freedom we enjoy in Canada, and for those who won it for us. Canadians should be proud and thankful that our country is strong enough, morally and economically, to answer the call when other, less fortunate countries look to us for help People here are effusive in their thanks. They recognise and appreciate the sacrifices made by our troops who leave families and loved ones behind and travel around the world to help people they don't even know. Canada should be thankful for and proud of our soldiers—extremely proficient and ready for combat, yet equally capable of genuine acts of humanity and compassion. And above all, Canadian parents should be thankful when their sons and daughters come home safely from serving in Afghanistan, Bosnia or any other military mission

Capt. Mark Bossi, Kabul, Afghanistan

National unity | Can Canada survive with no united opposition?

"If the Tory and Alliance parties fail to merge in this pivotal election period," writes Ottawa reader Jack Moran, "what hope is there of keeping the West in Canada?" He sees the prospect of "unending Liberal subjugation" as potentially fatal to national unity. "Paradoxically," Moran adds, "most of the Tories opposing the merger reside east of Quebec, and may find it necessary to join the U.S."

Ethical position

I want to make the statement that there is no preferential access to Mount Sinai Hospital Sports Injury Clinic in Toronto ("Jumping the queue," Ethics, Oct. 6). Appointments are made through my office only It is against my personal ethics and the hospital's ethics to give preferential treatment to any person or group

Dr. Ronald W. Taylor, Toronto

Islam today

It is a misrepresentation for Irshad Manji to say that debate within Islam froze at the end of the 11th century ("'I'm asking for honesty,'" Q&A, Sept 29). The debate continues to this day The backwardness of the Middle East is not a result of poverty, nor is it a result of a flawed religion It is a result of dictatorial governing that stifles free debate and is often supported by the West, e.g , in Saudi Arabia Citing religious rigidity as a pretext to abandon or modify Islamic values is unfortunately often less intellectually challenging than attempting to reconcile these values with life in the West in the face of the stigma that Islam frequently faces, especially since 9/11. The idea that

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Muslims have historically maintained a deep-rooted hatred of Jews is a farce. It is only after the creation of the state of Israel 50 years ago that Muslim resentment of Jews became widespread

Zied Saad, Calgary

During four six-month tours of duty in the Middle East, as a peacekeeper, peacemaker or chasing terrorists, I have always found one thing to be true. it is not Islam that is the cause of most problems, but those few who use Islam as an excuse for violence. Muslims worldwide must not only ask the same questions as Ms. Manji, but must be proactive in putting an end to the violent acts that are committed in the name of Islam.

Steve Bidtnes, Courtenay, B.C.

Islam makes seeking knowledge a duty of every Muslim. Therefore, with the guiding principles the Koran has set forth—and contrary to Irshad Manji's opinion that Muslims are not allowed to think for themselves—Muslims lead their lives seeking what is beneficial, improving lives, improving society, and at the same time not losing sight of their Creator.

Azza Jabakhanji, Edmonton

While Irshad Manji is correct is saying that Israel is multi-ethnic, that is in spite of, not because of, that country's leaders. Israel has illegally stripped many "Israeli Arabs" of their citizenship. As for her description of Israel as democratic, it is true that all citizens, Jews and non-Jews alike, are allowed to vote. But similar privileges are not granted to the millions under military occupation.

Patrick Page, Kingston, Ont.

Essential dialogue

A. D. Atkins claims that if people would stop writing about same-sex marriage and *Maclean's* would stop printing the letters, we could read of other subjects in the letters section (The Mail, Sept. 29). There can be only one reason why such a flood of letters has bombarded *Maclean's*—for many Canadians this is a matter of paramount importance, as it is for me. There could be little worse than to limit debate and dialogue at this stage. Even more so for *Maclean's*, since your editor and your Back Page writer have declared themselves proponents of same-sex marriage. After thousands of years of marriage being between a man and a woman, let no responsible Canadian allow such a climactic shift in morality to go unchecked without significant thought and dialogue.

David Sweet, Ancaster, Ont.



A reader rejects Irshad Manji's contention that debate within Islam froze in the 11th century

> **Muslims must be proactive in putting an end to the violent acts that are committed in the name of Islam**

A rounded education

Sue Ferguson has put it all together—a rigid back-to-the-basics, test-oriented curriculum deprived of art, music, physical education, industrial arts and home economics stifles individual growth ("The ABCs of classroom fun," Cover, Sept. 22). A broad-based elementary education that encourages creativity and intuitive thinking is the only way to go. Curriculum must be put back into the hands of those who are closest to the action—the principals and teachers.

Charles W. Davies, Fort Erie, Ont.

Creativity and freedom of expression play a much greater role than simply making school fun. Without them, we cannot hope to advance as a society. Einstein was right on track when he said, "Imagination is more important than knowledge. Knowledge is limited. Imagination circles the world."

Birgitta MacLeod, Port Perry, Ont.

When I was in elementary school 20 years ago, we ate in the gym, sitting on the floor, as described in "Lunchroom bedlam" (Cover, Sept. 22). However, instead of this being a horrible situation that apparently is going to affect the writer's daughter for life, I found it to be very enjoyable. Friendships were nurtured there and, contrary to the complaint the writer has about the kids only having 20 minutes to eat, we found that we wanted to get our meals finished and get out on the playground for the rest of the lunch break. Parents need to teach their kids that they need to eat and wash, etc., when they're at school. It's not the teachers' job.

John Pearson, Hyas, Sask.

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MACLEAN'S BEHIND THE SCENES



PHOTOGRAPH BY PETER BREGG

THE CUSTOMER SERVICE IMPERATIVE

When customer service works properly, you don't even notice it's there. Fortunately, such anonymity sits well with Cathy Saad, director of magazine fulfillment with the consumer marketing group of Rogers Publishing.

Saad (above), who is responsible for customer service for eight Rogers publications, including *Maclean's*, says her goal is to enable the magazine's 450,000 subscribers to have as much—or as little—contact with *Maclean's* as they wish. "It's entirely up to our readers," she explains. "We want to make the process of subscribing and maintaining an account as seamless and transparent as possible."

To facilitate that process, *Maclean's* now offers a 24/7 on-line subscription account management system, which is accessible at *www.macleans.ca*. People can subscribe, renew, check their account status, make payments and register address and name changes on-line. "They can also request a scent-free subscription or report a missed issue," adds Saad.

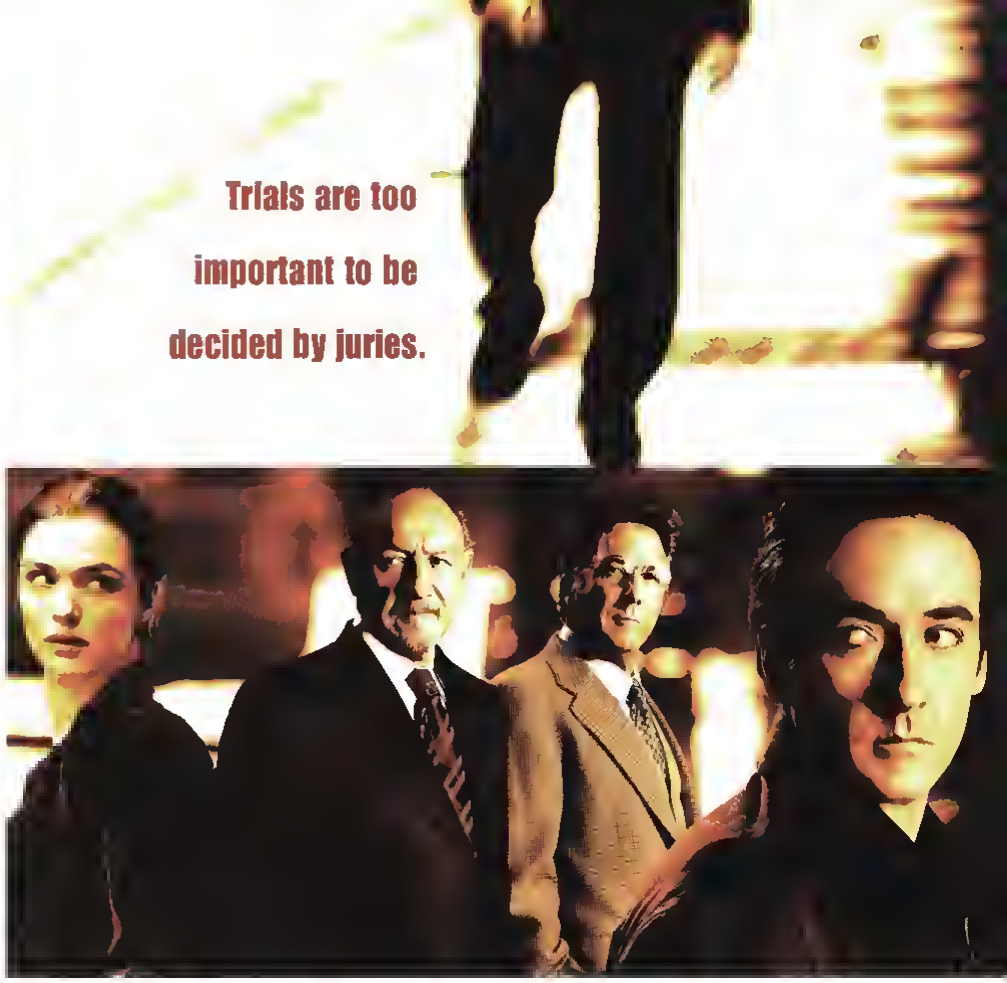
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Visit *www.macleans.ca* for new features, including Paul Wells's Weblog, *Inkless Wells*, the Canadian Idol photo gallery, and our reader poll on who should win this year's Booker Prize.

For further information about this article, contact: behindthescenes@macleans.ca.



CUSACK HACKMAN HOFFMAN WEISZ
RUNAWAY JURY

REGENCY ENTERPRISES PRESENTS A NEW REGENCY PRODUCTION A GARY FLEDER FILM JOHN CUSACK GENE HACKMAN DUSTIN HOFFMAN RACHEL WEISZ "RUNAWAY JURY"
BRUCE DAVISON BRUCE McGILL JEREMY PIVEN NICK SEARCY MUSIC BY CHRISTOPHER YOUNG PETER AFTERMAN JEFFREY DOWNER ABIGAIL MURRAY
WILLIAM STEINKAMP A.C.E. NELSON COATES ROBERT ELSWIT, ASC. JOHN GRISHAM BRIAN KOPPELMAN & DAVID LEVIEN MATTHEW CHAPMAN
www.runawayjurymovie.com ARNON MILCHAN GARY FLEDER CHRISTOPHER MANKIEWICZ GARY FLEDER
© 2003 Twentieth Century Fox.

OCTOBER 17 ONLY IN THEATRES

ScoreCard

▼ **George Radwanski:** Ousted privacy commish—he of the $444 lunch for two—rages at auditor general for documenting litany of spending abuse. Former Trudeau biographer likes to live in attack mode. Call him a weapon of self-destruction?

▲ **Margaret Atwood:** Queen of CanLit wins Giller nomination on top of Booker. Will she work the triple-play for a second time and make the G-G's short list as well?

▼ **Cigarette companies:** Wicked tobacco companies find loophole in Ottawa's advertising ban: comely young [illegible] to cruise trendy clubs. Throwback to the flappers. But kinda puts the lie to company claims they don't target young people.

▲ **Distinct Society:** Saskatchewan premier nixes idea of an election-time referendum on whether province should remain the last holdout against daylight savings time. Hooray for diversity, but reasoning suspect: election's not the time to air "divisive" issues.

▼ **Ontario Tories:** Wheels fly off campaign so fast that both ex-premier Mike Harris and incumbent Ernie Eves confuse their own party with their Liberal opponents. So that's how revolutions end, with a whimper and a senior's moment.

▲ **Islanders:** P.E.I. voters buck national trend and a hurricane's devastation with an 83 per cent election turnout. And will there be a boomlet of little Islanders in nine months?



KIERAN DOHERTY/REUTERS

Spectacle | The box where anger meets illusion

Poor David Blaine. The American illusionist is in his fifth week of living inside a clear plastic box 12 m above the River Thames, ostensibly to display his superhuman stamina but also for the $2.25 million two British TV channels have promised for the 44-day endurance test. He hasn't eaten in more than a month, his body's a wreck and he's become the target for angry Londoners fed up with stupid reality stunts.

Perched near Tower Bridge in London, Blaine's box has been pelted with rotten tomatoes, eggs, apples, paint-filled balloons, golf balls, beer cans, and fish and chips. People have flashed him and drummed to keep him awake. One man tried to cut the tube supplying his water. Another tempted him with a cheeseburger by way of a toy helicopter. Now the police want to bill his sponsors for the cost of keeping the crowd at bay. All of which makes a larger point: that human behaviour is so much more engaging than just watching a stationary man starve for publicity. JONATHAN DUREIN

Blaine, nearing the home stretch of his 44-day stunt above the Thames, where little is private in a clear plastic home

Quote of the week | 'He is in a bad way. We should pray for the Pope.'

JOSEPH CARDINAL RATZINGER, a top Vatican official, on an increasingly frail pontiff who is reportedly suffering from stomach cancer

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Offer your employees a workplace flu shot clinic.

With computer viruses, you can lose important data that's vital to your business. With human viruses, you can lose people. Those who become ill with the flu can be off work for days. If the flu spreads through your company, you could have a costly business problem. That's why many Ontario employers use a virus protection program for their people as well as their computers. It's the flu shot workplace clinic.

By making it more convenient for your employees to get their free flu shot, you'll be helping to protect your workplace, your employees, their families and your customers. You pay for the administration and the Ministry of Health and Long-Term Care's Universal Influenza Immunization Program provides the vaccine, free of charge.

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Let's Beat the Flu at work.

Ontario

UPFRONT

WORLD

DIRTY TRICKS The FBI was called in to investigate charges the White House leaked the name of a **covert CIA agent**, Valerie Plame, in an attempt to discredit her husband, former ambassador to Iraq Joseph Wilson. He had publicly accused the Bush administration of exaggerating intelligence reports on the threat posed by Saddam Hussein. In a case that mirrors the skulduggery dogging Tony Blair's government, Wilson linked the leak to Bush's top strategist, Karl Rove.

CIA inspectors reported that after five months they have found no weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, and said that Saddam was **probably bluffing** about chemical weapons in the days leading up to the U.S. attack.

ISRAEL Ariel Sharon's cabinet defied world opinion by approving an extension of its controversial security barrier into the Palestinian West Bank, as a shield for **disputed Jewish settlements**. Critics see this as a land grab that could dash peace efforts.

URANIUM Renegade North Korea said it has reprocessed 8,000 spent fuel rods, enough, observers said, to create up to six atomic bombs. Iran, meanwhile, is still refusing UN inspectors access to military facilities where other Western sources had reported trace amounts of plutonium.

MARRIAGE China loosened restrictions on marriage by removing the requirement for an employer's permission, while Muslim Indonesia drafted plans to make sex illegal **outside of wedlock**.

European Union officials took Romania to task after Florin Cioaba, the so called



king of the gypsies, married off his 12-year-old daughter Ana Maria to a 15-year-old suitor. The girl ran from the altar but was returned by her family and made to go through with the wedding night.

ORGY An indignant China accused hundreds of Japanese tourists of a "**criminal orgy**" with Chinese prostitutes on Sept. 18, the anniversary of of the start of Japan's occupation of China in 1931. A diplomatic protest was filed.

ABANDONED A two year old girl, **home alone** for nearly three weeks while her mother was in a Florida jail, survived by eating ketchup, mustard, jelly and dried pasta. Once in hospital, the toddler ate four pieces of chicken, a cheeseburger, mashed potatoes and cereal and drank just over a litre of milk.

CALIFORNIA Muscleman actor Arnold Schwarzenegger was leading the polls to become California's next governor, though he was dogged by allegations he admired Hitler and **groped women**.

CORRUPTION After long delays, French President Jacques Chirac's **political machine** went on trial for funding irregularities and payoffs during his long tenure as mayor of Paris from 1977 to 1995. Twenty-seven people have been charged, including former prime minister Alain Juppé.

THE MOON Europe shot off its first rocket to the moon, a so-called SMART probe that costs about a quarter of a normal space mission. However, it will take **15 months to arrive** in lunar orbit.

SCIENCE | HEALTH

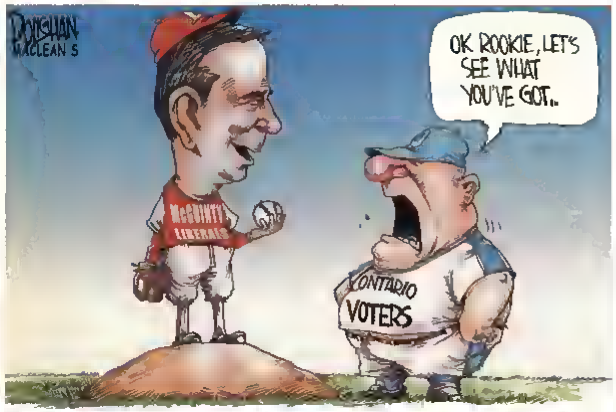
LONGEVITY Canadian women live longer than men—81.4 years compared to 75.9 on average—but that's in large part because men smoke more and take risks with their



Hats off
From the Hubble Space Telescope, NASA astronomers created this edge-wise image of the Sombrero galaxy, a hat-shaped cluster of stars—10 times as many as orbit our Milky Way—circling a luminescent core. Twenty-eight million light years away, the ring appears one-fifth as wide as the full moon in the night sky.

FRANK GUNNER, HUBBLE HERITAGE TEAM

BY TIM DOLIGHAN



lives, new research says. However, women also suffer more disabilities and more mental illness than men, the report from the Canadian Institute for Health Information said. It also found that 42 per cent of females aged 15-24 had **experienced violence** at the hands of a partner.

ANTIBIOTICS Babies who take antibiotics before six months of age run a high risk of developing asthma and severe **allergies** in childhood, U.S. researchers reported. The antibiotics inhibit the development of a child's immune system.

SARS VACCINE Researchers at McMaster University in Hamilton said they are close **to developing** a vaccine for SARS and will begin animal trials this month.

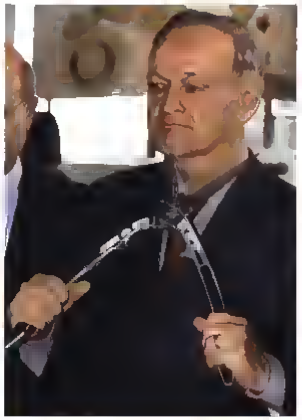
CANADA

CRIME A B.C. jury convicted Jay Handel of first-degree murder for **killing his six children**, rejecting the notion he was mentally incompetent at the time. While the jury was out, Handel attempted suicide by slashing his wrists with a disposable razor.

HOMICIDES More people were killed with **knives** than guns last year, Statistics Canada reported. Gun-related murders fell to an all-time low, nearly half the rate of the 1970s.

RETURNED A Canadian-born teen, taken to ancestral India against her will by her parents, was returned to Canada with Ottawa's assistance. An Indian court had ordered the parents to **surrender custody** of the 16-year old because she was so unhappy.

RESILIENT When an oil tank he was cutting apart exploded in flames and set fire to his clothes, hair and body, 80-year-old Ole Laursen of Vancouver called police. First he rolled in the grass to put out the flames, took a cool bath to ease the pain, and smeared cream on his burns. Police said he was **one tough guy**.



STOP ME before I open another park. A resigned—resigning?—Jean Chrétien waits for his ribbon-cutting moment at the new Downsview Park in urban Toronto. He later went on to hand out federal money for three new national parks and marine areas in B.C.

VADIM GHIRDA/AP

SETTLED The family of Dudley George, a Native man killed by Ontario Provincial Police during a protest eight years ago, dropped its lawsuit against former premier Mike Harris and three cabinet ministers, accepting a $100,000 settlement from the OPP. The new Liberal government is **promising a public inquiry** into the incident.

THEFT Revenue Canada is warning Canadians to be on guard for identity theft after thieves broke into a tax office in Laval, Que., and made off with four computers containing **personal information** on 120,000 people. The break-in occurred on Sept. 4, but Ottawa issued the warning only last week.

BUSINESS Ford **reversed plans** for a new auto plant in Oakville, Ont., choosing instead to situate it in Atlanta.

Despite SARS and mad cow, Canada's **economy grew** by 0.6 per cent in July, the biggest gain in 15 months.

POLITICS Looking more prime ministerial by the day, Paul Martin toured the hurricane-ravaged Maritimes, and arranged for an **impromptu Grey Cup summit** of premiers in Regina during the week after the Liberal leadership convention.

Newfoundlanders and Labradorians go to the polls Oct. 21, the seventh **provincial election** this year.

Jean Chrétien agreed to re-examine the plight of an estimated 23,000 **war widows**, whose stipend of up to $2,000 a year for home maintenance was eliminated earlier this year in a cost-cutting effort.

WEATHER A 30-year examination of the country's larger cities by Environment Canada concluded that Yellowknife is the coldest, Chilliwack, B.C., the warmest and Prince Rupert, B.C., the wettest year-round. Also, Gander, Nfld., has the most snow and freezing rain, Windsor, Ont., the most thunderstorms, while St. John's, Nfld., is the foggiest and Kamloops, B.C., has the warmest summers. Victoria and Nanaimo, B.C., came out on top with what's called the **most comfortable climate**.

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Mansbridge on the Record



RED FLAG FOR BLAIR

Will singing old socialist hymns really help Britain's beleaguered leader?

YOU KNEW Tony Blair was in trouble when he pulled out the old *Red Flag*. For years Britain's Labour Party had ended its annual conference with the singing of that song—but to Blair's New Labour the words had conjured up the whiff of an era the new leader wanted forgotten. So, a few years ago, the song was dropped.

These days, Blair needs every party friend he can find. Doubts about his leadership are mounting, amid questions about whether Britons were sold a bill of goods about the threat Saddam Hussein posed. Blair is also facing uproars over university tuition fees and health-care issues. So, in a not so subtle attempt to appease his internal critics, *The Red Flag* came back for this year's session in Bournemouth.

What strikes a visitor to Britain these days is that, for as much trouble as George W. Bush finds himself in—and he *is* in trouble—he looks positively Teflon compared with Blair, his Iraq-mate. Many on our side of the Atlantic, where politicians aren't known for their polished use of English, seem to swoon when Blair enunciates his arguments. But not in Britain—not any more. In some polls, the PM's party has sunk to a three-way tie with the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats—and an overwhelming majority say they detect a culture of deceit in his government.

> **These days, Blair needs every Labour Party friend he can find. Bush looks positively Teflon compared with his Iraq-mate.**

Then there's the British press—which has a well-earned reputation for landing on bloodied politicians like crows on roadkill. London's papers—so healthy these days their ad inserts seem thicker than the *National Post*—are far from unanimous on Blair's abilities, but they are vigorously pursuing the story. During the days leading up to, and during the conference, the debate about Blair's future got as much ink as David Beckham's recent late-night club appearance with a mystery brunette (and it's rare that anything gets space to rival the country's soccer idol). Here's a sample:

Covering almost the entire front page of the *Daily Mirror* was a fake gold-embossed invitation: "The *Daily Mirror* cordially invites The Rt. Hon. Tony Blair to come back to his party. RSVP (quite quickly please)." Over at the *Sun*, a page turn from the topless Page 3 photo, they weren't quite so polite, using a soccer-infraction comparison to describe the Prime Minister's policies: "We give Blair the yellow card. Our message: Raise your game, Tony."

Of the more "serious" papers, the *Guardian* focussed on Iraq. "There were alternative ways of responding to events. To continue to speak as though he is entirely right and we are entirely wrong is neither credible nor respectful." At the *Independent*, under the headline, "Blair: I'm proud of what we've done in Iraq," the paper listed, in bold red, six key elements of the Iraq situation it considered failures, from food aid to oil.

But there were defenders. Barbara Amiel had a great line in the *Daily Telegraph*: "Blair is a child of the 1960s, more Lennon than Lenin," and went on to argue: "As Blair grows better and better as a person and politician, he becomes less and less liked."

Tony Blair has his fans—in the party, in the public and in the press. To them his current troubles are just a bump on the road to a third majority. They may be right, but *The Red Flag* shouldn't be ignored. Blair has never been comfortable singing the old Labour hymn—the last time it was used, it's said, he struggled to remember the words. He didn't need them then—he needs them now.

Peter Mansbridge is Chief Correspondent of CBC Television News and Anchor of *The National*
To comment: letters@macleans.ca

Passages

APPOINTED: Quebec Archbishop **Marc Ouellet** was one of 31 new princes of the church elevated by a seriously ill Pope **John Paul II** to help choose his successor. Ouellet, 59, becomes Canada's third cardinal.

CHARGED: After being involved in a late-night crash in Atlanta that broke his Ferrari sports car in two and seriously injured teammate **Dan Snyder**, 25, emerging NHL star **Dany Heatley**, 22, of the Atlanta Thrashers, was charged with reckless driving. Heatley suffered a broken jaw and shoulder injuries; Snyder was in critical condition with a crushed skull.



WON South African novelist **J. M. (John Maxwell) Coetzee**, a shy 63-year-old with a deft touch and an unyielding critique of his country's legacy of apartheid, won the Nobel Prize for literature. He is the second South African, after Nadine Gordimer, to win the coveted award.

NAMED: *Maclean's* contributing editor **John Bemrose** was shortlisted for the Giller Prize in Canadian literature for his first novel, *The Island Walkers*. The others in the running for the prestigious award are **Margaret Atwood** for *Oryx and Crake*, **Ann-Marie MacDonald** for *The Way the Crow Flies*, **M. G. Vassanji** for *The In-Between World of Vikram Lall*, and **John Gould** for his short-story collection *Kilter: 55 Fictions*.

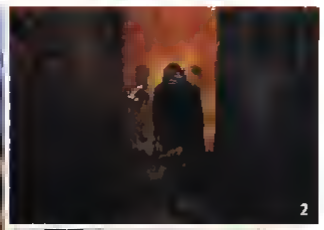
HONOURED: Director **Norman Jewison**, whose films include *In the Heat of the Night* and *Moonstruck*, was celebrated for lifetime achievement by the Governor General's Performing Arts Awards. Singer-songwriter **Ian Tyson**, comedian **Dave Broadfoot**, soprano **Pierrette Alarie**, actor **Douglas Campbell** and actress-director **Micheline Lanctôt** were also honoured.

DIED: Director-writer **Elia Kazan**'s triumphs included the original Broadway productions of *Death of a Salesman* and *A Streetcar Named Desire*, but his work was overshadowed by his collaboration with the McCarthy red-baiting investigation of the 1950s. Kazan, 94, died in his Manhattan home.

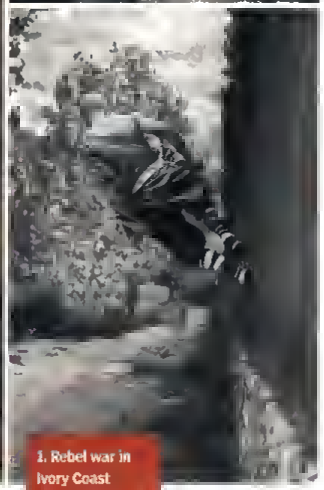
NHL: EDWARD M. PIOROIA/CP











1. Rebel war in Ivory Coast
2. A brick factory outside Kabul
3. After the earthquake in Iran
4. Shaolin monk in Henan, China

Photography | The eyes of the world's press

For photojournalists, there is no greater ho nour than winning a World Press Photo award. The Netherlands-based non-profit organization annually celebrates the work of those who expose themselves to tense situations, often at danger to their lives, to capture the dramatic image on film. This year's edition attracted a record 53,597 entries from 3,913 photographers in 118 countries. By turns aggressive, emotive and stunning, the winning entries—all "showing outstanding visual qualities and representing a news situation of global importance," the judges found—are uniformly unforgettable.

Like selections above, much of the subject matter is alien to Western sensibilities—and thoroughly unnerving. Militant rebels hold a gun to the head of a government loyalist on the Ivory Coast; the re-opening of a kiln outside Kabul illustrates Afghanistan's achingly slow reconstruction, after an earthquake, an Iranian boy weeps beside his father's gravesite; while in China, a Shaolin monk gracefully executes a martial arts wall-walk. These photographs and others have been assembled in a year-long travelling exhibit that will visit over 40 countries. Only the second time it's come to Canada, the tour makes an appearance at the Allen Lambert Galleria in Toronto from Oct. 6 through 25. *www.picturesfestival.com*

CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: GEORGES GOBET/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE, MONA REEDER/THE DALLAS MORNING NEWS, ERIC GRIGORIAN/POLARIS IMAGES, ALL COURTESY OF WORLD PRESS PHOTO. THOMASZ GUDZOWATY AND ROBERT BOGUSLAWSKI/TOP/FOCUS



The Medical POSTING

ROGERS

Depression doubles risk of death after bypass surgery

Depression is a significant risk factor for death in patients who have undergone coronary artery bypass surgery to restore blood flow to the heart, according to the largest and longest study of the problem to date.

The study analysed the medical records of 817 patients who had undergone bypass surgery and were followed for an average of five years. During those years, 122 of the patients (15 per cent) died.

Patients diagnosed with moderate to severe depression at the time of surgery (or diagnosed with mild depression prior to surgery, lasting for at least six months following surgery), were twice as likely to die during the followup period compared with non-depressed patients.

During followup, 10 per cent of the patients who were never depressed died, compared with 19 per cent of patients who were chronically depressed.

The key now is to determine whether or not treating the depression can positively affect outcomes, say researchers.

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Mercury in fish may be less toxic than believed

The type of mercury found in fish may not be as toxic as once thought, new research suggests.

Scientists have known for a long time that the mercury in fish was a type of methylmercury, but they weren't sure what type. Studies of mercury toxicity were mainly based on the assumption it was methylmercury chloride.

Now researchers at the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon have found signs the mercury may be in a less toxic form called methylmercury cysteine.

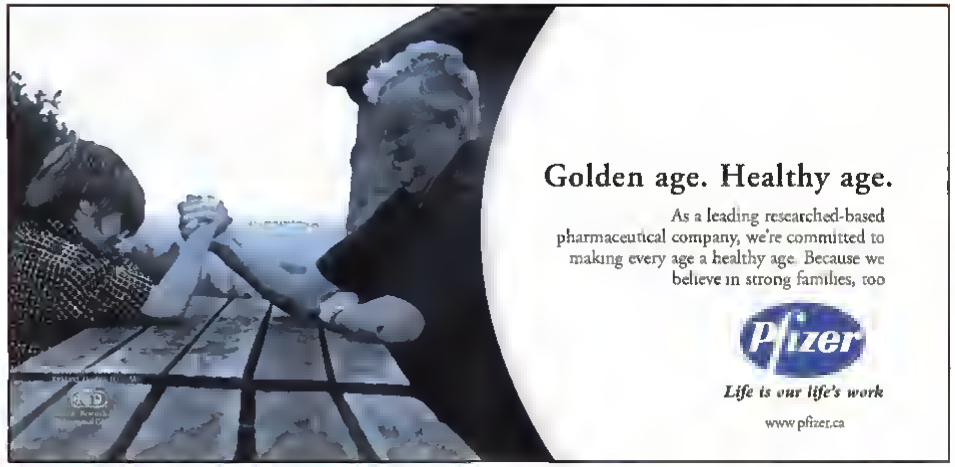
The team used a technique called X-ray absorption spectroscopy to study the mercury found inside the muscle tissue of fresh swordfish and orange roughy from the local market.

The spokeswoman for Health Canada says the ministry is looking at the finding and will keep abreast of further developments.

FYI

More than 15 per cent of full-time Canadian soldiers reported symptoms of mental illness in a 2002 survey. In 7.6 per cent, those symptoms indicated severe depression, making it the most common problem. That is 80 per cent higher than in the general Canadian population for the same age and gender match. The survey queried 5,155 regular-forces members and 3,286 reservists between May and December 2002.

(Source: Statistics Canada)





IN HARM'S WAY

With two dead, three injured, what's next for Canada's troops in Afghanistan?

THE ROAD THEY DIED ON could hardly even be called one. Maj.-Gen. Andrew Leslie, the top-ranking officer of the Canadian task force in Kabul, said it was really more of a "sandy track" that his troops were patrolling in the hills just outside Afghanistan's capital when their jeep-like Iltis vehicle was blown up by what appears to have been a powerful land mine. "Bad-guy country," Leslie laconically called the area where it happened—and there can be little doubt about that assessment. Two soldiers from the Royal Canadian Regiment, 3rd Battalion, Sgt. Robert Short of Fredericton and Cpl. Robbie Beerenfenger of Ottawa, were killed by the blast, and three more injured, fulfilling the many warnings that the unusually large commitment Canada has made to helping rebuild Afghanistan carries with it grave dangers.

Desolation surrounds Camp Julien outside Kabul, home to 1,900 Canadians

But there will be no cutting and running. "The Taliban and al-Qaeda want us to retreat to our camps or run away," Leslie said. "And neither, of course, is an option for our soldiers." The imperative to stay put, though, goes well beyond a soldier's honour. To federal politicians and foreign-policy mandarins, Afghanistan represents much more than an isolated peacekeeping mission. The Canadian contingent of about 1,900 is the second largest of the 31 countries represented in the 5,500-strong NATO-led International Security Assistance Force based in Kabul. It represents by far Canada's most conspicuous contribution to the U.S. "war on terror"—and Ottawa's main calling card when it comes to rebuilding credibility with Washington after sitting out the invasion of Iraq.

And beyond its importance in healing Canada's frayed relations with its biggest ally, Afghanistan is serving as a sort of foreign-policy laboratory. In the post-Sept. 11, post-Iraq war world, the problem of carving out a role for Canada might be summed up this way: We want to play our part, in particular helping the U.S. combat terrorism—but not at the beck and call of George W. Bush. We're proud of our military history and take satisfaction when our troops are deployed abroad—but preferably for peacekeeping rather than actual fighting. We aim to leverage our modest clout on the world stage by acting through multilateral bodies—but worry that the UN might be too weakened, after the bitter divisions on its Security Council over the Iraq war, to be a reliable vehicle for our international aspirations.

In Afghanistan, solutions to all these dilemmas are already being translated into action—at least in theory. Just run down the checklist. Avoiding too much direct U.S. control? In Afghanistan, Canada is expected take full command of the NATO stabilization force next year. Showing a serious military side without going to war? In Afghanistan, Canadian troops get to be nation-builders, not regime-changers. Getting around the UN's limitations without abandoning a multilateral approach? In Afghanistan, NATO is proving—as it did in the former Yugoslavia—to be a workable alternative to the traditional blue-bereted UN peacekeeping mission.

That's a lot of geopolitical baggage to load on the backs of the Canadian troops stationed mostly at dusty Camp Julien on the outskirts of Kabul. To those men and women in uniform on this distant mission, some of whom are profiled on the following pages, the job is more straightforward: keep the peace in and around the capital as the embryonic Afghan regime strives to restore nation-state authority over its territory. Canada's commitment is to stay until next August. What's more, Canada is backing up its military presence by funnelling $250 million in aid into the country, enough to boast that it currently ranks as the largest donor to Afghanistan. And a rudimentary embassy has been set up in Kabul, despite conditions that few ambassadors have even imagined.

Canada agreed to play a big part in the Afghanistan stabilization force in early February, during the tense buildup to the U.S. and British invasion of Iraq. The key component from the outset is the soldiers, who are now mourning their first casualties since arriving to join the NATO stabilization effort in August. But Ottawa's

PHOTOGRAPH BY DILIP MEHTA/CONTACT PRESS IMAGES

catch phrase for the approach is "Three-D"—defence, but also development and diplomacy. It's a far cry from the classic peacekeeping formula: patrol a line between two warring sides after they agree to stop shooting. For one thing, in Afghanistan there are many more than two sides. For another, beyond the problem of taming the factions of local warlords, tenacious Taliban, and perhaps remnants of al-Qaeda, Afghanistan is just plain poor—desperately so. "What's required is actually getting in and helping rebuild the society," Foreign Minister Bill Graham told *Maclean's*. "In Afghanistan, we have a co-operative effort between defence, foreign affairs and the Canadian International Development Agency."

Of the three Ds, though, defence needed to be in place first to provide essential security for those delivering development aid or engaging in diplomacy. The UN just wasn't capable of getting enough soldiers on the ground fast enough to deal with failed state chaos on the scale of Afghanistan's. Enter the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Back in the early 1990s, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, NATO looked headed for obsolescence. Instead, its interventions in Bosnia and Kosovo showed a potential new role. In Afghanistan—an awfully long way from the North Atlantic—the old Cold War alliance is showing even greater adaptability. Graham calls it a "new model," but stresses that NATO is acting with UN approval in Afghanistan. "NATO has a capacity to pull together peacekeeping operations and quickly provide the basic underpinnings of an operation of this size in a way the UN lacks," he says.

But if the basic elements of a new sort of nation-building seem to be coming together in Afghanistan, success is far from assured. In fact, the sheer ungovernability of the country may make a mockery of upbeat slogans like Three-D—suggesting possible alternatives like defeat, despair and, eventually, departure. That's what Afghanistan forced on the Russians and, before them, the British. "There is a long history of interventions that have tried to stabilize Afghanistan," says Fen Hampson, director of the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University in Ottawa. "And that history is one of repeated failures, followed by the withdrawal of forces."

Hampson points to the absence of "rudimentary elements of civil society" inside Afghanistan, and, along its borders, unhelpful neighbours, like Pakistan and Iran, willing to exploit its instability. So far, he says, there is no sign of a big enough Western commitment of military might and economic aid to overcome those daunting obstacles.

As Canadian soldiers got back to patrolling Afghanistan's lawless roads last week, they had more immediate worries than the country's doleful history and messy regional politics. Trying to avoid mines is one of their main concerns. "Afghanistan is littered with mines and explosive devices buried in the ground," said Leslie. "A variety of estimates range from nine to 11 million, making Afghanistan arguably the most heavily mined area in the world." Initially, there was speculation the aging, lightly armoured Iltis that the Canadians were riding in when they hit the explosive left them particularly vulnerable. But Leslie said even a newer, better armoured light vehicle likely wouldn't have offered enough protection against such a powerful blast.

Yet last week's tragedy for Canada does not approach the steady number of deaths Americans are being asked to accept in Iraq. Nearly six months after they marched into Baghdad, American forces in Iraq are suffering three to six deaths per week. Still, according to John Norris, a Washington-based special adviser to the Bush administration who works for the independent International Crisis Group, there remains "broad understanding across the U.S. political spectrum" that America can't afford to exit Iraq in failure.

As for Afghanistan, Norris sees signs of a similar resolve to succeed in a proposal from Germany for NATO's presence to be extended beyond Kabul. "The lack of a more robust NATO peacekeeping presence outside Kabul has left a vacuum," he said, "which local warlords have exploited and the Taliban has used to reorganize in some parts of the country." The idea of widening stabilization force operations was expected to be discussed this week when NATO defence ministers meet in Colorado Springs. Canada, though, is unlikely to be able to contribute much more: the current commitment is already straining the Canadian Forces' limited capacity. If Afghanistan represents a new sort of nation-building intervention, then the intervening countries will need extraordinary staying power to make the model work. From the troops on the ground, as last week's tragedy showed, what's needed is all that, and bravery too.





MASTER CPL. BRIAN WALSH/CP PHOTO

ONE SOLDIER'S E-MAIL FROM KABUL—AND FROM THE HEART

In the wake of last week's deaths, Cpl. Christian Elia, who is serving in Afghanistan, sent this e-mail to a friend in Canada. He gave Maclean's permission to publish this excerpt:

The two soldiers who died today were my friends. Sgt. Rob Short, 42 [above left], was a fellow paratrooper of exceptional quality—a member of a brotherhood that I cannot explain to the uninitiated. The other, Cpl. Bob Beerenfenger, 29, was a soldier of extreme competence and skill. Short was the first man to greet me when I got off the bus from battle school, and he remained an example of what all paratroopers should be. He always made you feel good about yourself and your job. A master sniper, with almost 20 years in the army, he was a constant example of what inner strength and solid determination could produce. Even on a bad day he could have killed a dozen of the bastards who laid the mine that killed them.

Beerenfenger was quiet, awesome at his job. The last time I pulled a shift with him, all he could talk about were his kids and how he was going to finally be able to give them what they deserved for Christmas with his tour money. He was so proud. The people that I want your prayers to be directed to are their families and the four men who were with them that day. What they witnessed they will never truly forget, and they deserve your thoughts and prayers. I want Canada to remember that we are here, dying, protecting Kabul in the name of freedom—something we all take for granted back home. Canada rocks, and these men rocked the house. Let's remember that. God be with us in these tough times.



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SGT. PAUL COPPICUS

HUNTING DEATH IN THE SAND

DON'T EXPECT MUCH sympathy from Sgt. Paul Coppicus. For the rugged soldier from Moosomin, Sask., tackling challenges on your own initiative is the only way to prove your worth. "When someone comes up to me," says the 37-year-old with barely a twitch of his twirled mustache, "and claims, 'I have a problem dealing with this,' my gut reaction is--so what?"

For a military engineer whose job includes removing land mines--he spent six months in Bosnia in 1996, doing just that--toughness is not a bad character trait. Last week, he was called on to lead a team to the site of the mine blast that killed two Canadians. As that tragedy underscored, Afghanistan is one of the world's most heavily mined countries. Over the last year, thousands of mines have been removed, but they're still being found in areas designated as safe, while new ones are being deployed by the remnants of the Taliban and al-Qaeda. In spite of the danger, Coppicus recalls, "The first time going into a minefield in Bosnia was exhilarating. The adrenalin was flowing and I was too nervous to look anywhere other than right in front of me."

Currently, he also has to contend with the group of young engineers under his command who, suddenly, fully understand the risks confronting them. It's all a long way from Moosomin, which Coppicus describes as a "typical Norman Rockwell small town." There, he dreamed of joining the army and, attracted by the adventure and camaraderie depicted in war movies, he signed on in 1984. Since then, he's been to Cyprus and Kosovo as well as Bosnia. But times have changed, he says, at least as far as camaraderie is concerned: "There's a lot of individualism with the younger soldiers. Everyone has a TV and Nintendo at our base in Canada. When I joined you'd be down at the mess watching the big screen or playing pool. You were together."

Coppicus's children, son Alex, 7, and daughter Raina, 5, are never far from his mind. "You miss a lot," he says wistfully. "The first time they walk, the first time they speak. When Alex was four, I was away for six months. When I came back, Alex folded his arms and walked away. He wouldn't talk to me for a day and a half." Coppicus has now made two promises: "To my kids, I'd like to say this is Daddy's last attempt to make things better in the world. To my wife, Tina, I repeat, this is my last attempt at helping make things better."

An Afghan man who lost a leg to a land mine watches Coppicus (left) at work

PHOTOGRAPHS BY DILIP MEHTA/CONTACT PRESS IMAGES

MASTER CPL. RENEE RUSSELL

PUTTING A FEMALE FACE ON THE MILITARY

BLOND, AND BABY-FACED—it's easy to see Master Cpl. Renee Russell as vulnerable, someone who should be safely home, not toting an automatic rifle around Kabul. But don't be mistaken. The 21-year-old reservist from Barrie, Ont., counts *G.I. Jane*, a movie about a female soldier trying to find her way in the male-dominated military, among her favourite films. Sgt. Mark Miller has seen her tough side. "Renee's not a dress-up kind of girl," he says. "She'd rather play football with the boys than put on a dress. She can handle herself." In fact, laughs Russell, "I don't even own a dress."

Russell, one of 50 reservists in Afghanistan with the Canadian troops, is part of a Civil Military Co-operation unit that is assisting in the reconstruction of the war-ravaged country. "Our basic task," she explains, "is to help the Afghan people help themselves by organizing rebuilding projects." So far, her unit has rebuilt schools and bridges, and dug wells. By working closely with the community, Russell's group also hopes to create an atmosphere of goodwill. "We've already had some success," she says. "We were approached by children who kept saying, 'Mine, mine.' So we followed them and they brought us to an unexploded ordnance. That sort of thing is exactly what we want."

Most Afghans have never seen a female soldier, some of the men have been so taken by her that they have proposed. "I was standing guard when a van drove by filled with men," Russell recalls. "It stopped and 12 guys poured out. One that spoke English started asking me, 'Do you have a family? Do you have brothers?' And then, of course, 'Are you married?' I said no and right away he asked me to marry him."

Putting a female face on the military can sometimes help in the work the Canadian troops are doing. In a suburb of Kabul, Russell displays her skills when an old woman hesitantly peers from her crumbling house at a menacing group of soldiers. It's Russell who approaches, gently coaxing her out. Some questions are resolved about the state of the village's water supply and its mosque—another rebuilding project. "We have to be careful about giving these people false hopes," says Russell afterwards. "It doesn't help us if we come here and then nothing happens." That's a heavy responsibility for soldiers such as Russell—and for the governments they represent.



Russell checks her combat rifle before heading out to help the Afghans rebuild their country

CPL. ALLAN SPENCER

CRUISING KABUL'S DANGEROUS STREETS

ON HIS FIRST day at work in Kabul, Cpl. Allan Spencer, 29, saw an old man die—clipped by a speeding car while riding his bicycle. Since then, as an official driver at Camp Julien, he has seen more than his share of Kabul's wild streets. "I've already done about 5,000 km in this city," he says, steering his SUV, with the Canadian flag fluttering from the antenna, through a tangle of cars, bicycles, pedestrians and donkey carts. "I really don't need a map any more. Just tell me where you want to go—I'll get you there."

Spencer hails from Broughton, a village of about 26 people on Cape Breton Island, where his father worked as a coal miner. He's been driving since he was 13 and loves hot rods, so wheeling around Kabul has been interesting—even fun. "There's a system to driving here," explains Spencer, without taking his eyes off the traffic. "You just have to get to know it." Five years as a member of a reconnaissance platoon has helped; landmarks and obstacles are filed away in his encyclopedic mind. "I watch for places that could be used to launch an attack," he says. "Fortunately, I have the city pretty much mapped so I know instantly whether or not I'm in a dangerous position."

Spencer, who joined the Forces in 1990, has found Afghanistan to be in worse shape than other countries he's been posted to. "When I describe Kabul to my parents," he says, "I refer them to some of the photographs I've taken on previous tours and tell them to imagine that scale of destruction—but magnified a hundredfold." It's not only architectural devastation: the victims of war are everywhere. "There's this one young girl who can't be more than 12 who had her legs blown off by a land mine," Spencer says. "She panhandles, using her hands to get around."

He points out people he sees regularly on his rounds. A pair of women in burkas who, seated on rocks in the middle of what the Canadians call Burka Bump Road, beg for money. A traffic cop in front of the Afghan Wireless Communications Company. "Did you ever see the movie *Bad Lieutenant*?" Spencer asks. "Well, he's just like that. I watched him pull a guy out of a cab and start giving it to him." But the corporal is always looking beyond the characters in the crowd for terrorists. How observant is he? "Remember when we turned onto Burka Bump Road?" Spencer asks. "There was a bus in front of us, a taxi and a guy on a bike. The taxi's windshield was cracked on the top left, the bus had 'Millie' written on its back and the bicycle was green." In Kabul, being aware of every detail just may help keep Spencer and his passengers alive.



Spencer, lighting up a policeman's cigarette, is always on the lookout for possible terrorists



MASTER CPL. MARIO CHARETTE

PRACTISING MEDICINE ON THE FRONT LINE

WORKING AT HIS COMPUTER in Camp Julien's medical facilities, Master Cpl. Mario Charette doesn't stand out. But this unassuming operating room technician is a decorated veteran of four previous postings, including the Gulf War and Somalia in 1992-93, where he was caught in a riot at a hospital in Belet Huen. In the ensuing chaos, bystanders were hit by gunfire—and Charette jumped in to help. "I was a junior medic at that time and helped provide triage for the wounded outside the hospital," he recalls. "The whole event must have lasted something like three or four hours, but it seemed like just five minutes to me."

Charette, 36, who was awarded a medal for bravery for his heroism during the riot, found himself on the front lines again last week when two Canadian soldiers died in a land-mine explosion, and three others were injured. "Knowing it was a mine, I was preparing for more than one casualty," he told *Maclean's* shortly after helping care for the victims. "We've had a lot of exercises preparing for this type of eventuality but this wasn't an exercise. There were a lot of very serious faces."

When the enemy strikes down Canadian troops, Charette's there to treat the casualties

Before that, Charette's stay in Kabul had been relatively peaceful. He kept busy by maintaining equipment and helping with French-language classes. His participation in the camp's Terry Fox Run is legendary: four 10-km runs were held in 35° C heat on a course littered with loose rocks—and Charette ran them all. But with injured soldiers arriving, the real reason for his presence in Kabul was driven home. "Having been exposed to various traumatic scenarios prepared me for what just happened," he said. Fortunately only one of the injured men, who suffered second-degree burns to his hands, required surgery.

Over the past 15 years, almost every aspect of Charette's life has been connected to the Forces. "My wife, Genevieve, proposed to me in a letter when I was in Somalia," he recalled. "We got married when I came home." He'd hoped his daughter, Naomi-Nisha, now 8, would be born during a leave from Croatia, but the clock ran out. "On the flight back to Croatia the captain patched a radio line through so I ended up sitting in the cockpit talking to my wife," he recalls. "Three days later she gave birth." Last week, with casualties casting a grim mood over Camp Julien, Charette was definitely in the right place at the right time. Once the emergency had been tended to, he was relieved. "All the preparation my team has done definitely paid off," he said. "We came together in a stressful situation and proved that we can get the work done."

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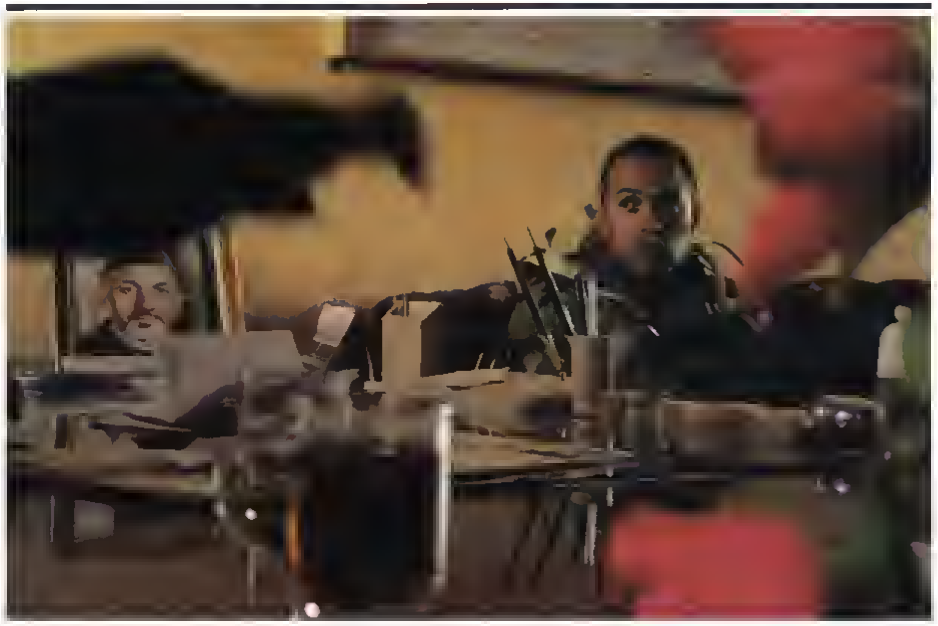
ON GUARD AGAINST AN UNSEEN FOE

WHILE STUDYING at the Royal Military College in Kingston, Ont., Lieut. Chris Nobrega wrote a paper on the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Now, like so many foreign soldiers before him, he has faced danger in the desert as he led a rapid-reaction team to the site of last week's explosion that killed two Canadians. "When we came onto the scene we realized it was one of our units that was involved," the youthful looking 34-year-old Torontonian told *Maclean's*. "We had to extract the unit that was involved in the mine strike."

Well aware of the risks entailed in his assignment to Afghanistan, Nobrega had practised repeatedly how to react to this type of incident. "Everyone knew what they had to do when they got out into the scene," he said, "and it was just a matter of trying to gain control of the situation as it unfolded." With the realization that two of their colleagues were dead, their determination to proceed with the mission only stiffened. "This event solidifies my resolve to be out here and to accomplish the task that we've been assigned," he said. "It's a greater justification, a more personal justification."

In addition to being prepared to engage the enemy while he's on patrol, Nobrega has to undertake community diplomacy—a role he relishes. "It's important for us to keep a close tie with the local population," he'd told *Maclean's* as he dropped by a police station a few days before the attack. With his troops standing watch outside, he and police chief Ali Jan drank tea and discussed Canada's role in the city. "We are very happy you are here," said Ali. "This is Afghanistan's last chance. If we miss it, our country will be destroyed." Nobrega nodded in agreement. "That's what we're here to prevent."

Understanding a foreign culture comes easily to Nobrega, who immigrated to Toronto with his Guyanese parents when he was six. He quickly adapted, and was soon playing pickup hockey at a rink in the city's west end. At the age of 12 he joined the cadets and has been involved with the military ever since. Nobrega takes great joy in meeting people, especially kids. "They're the same wherever you go," he said, stepping from his vehicle. A crowd of children swarmed around him. "When they see a guy in uniform, they always rush over and try to talk to you, try to take your hand," said Nobrega with a mischievous smile. "Who here can tell me where I'm from?" he asked. "Canada," the children replied in unison. "How far is Canada from here?" he asked. "Far," they shouted back. Last week, to the troops, Canada seemed very far away. M



Nobrega visiting a police station to discuss what Canadian troops can do for Kabul

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A MIGHTY BLOW

Hurricane Juan hit Halifax hard, but JOHN DEMONT's neighbours took it in stride



NOTHING, it seems, happens without a reason. A butterfly flaps its wings off the coast of Bermuda and the next thing you know you're cowering in bed at 1 a.m. with only two panes of glass between you and winds screaming like the apocalypse as they slam into Halifax. Then, before you realize it, you're among the throngs of people wandering the streets, staring dazedly at venerable old trees tossed like pick-up sticks, shattered wharves, mashed cars and wounded houses left in Hurricane Juan's wake. Humbling isn't the word. "I am here to cry," says a senior citizen standing in front of Halifax's ravaged Public Gardens, just a day earlier one of the loveliest Victorian garden plots in North America. Nearby, someone has laid a wreath where a paramedic, one of two people killed during the storm, was crushed in his ambulance by a falling tree.

Yet Halifax, where most of the devastation occurred when Juan barrelled into Atlantic Canada, wasn't entirely funereal. Even before the cleanup army of military personnel and electrical and telephone company workers showed up, university students and homeowners were clearing the streets of debris and sawing branches from fallen trees. The air filled with the smell of backyard barbecues as some of the thousands left without electricity cooked their meals the only way they could. As darkness fell, people gathered together, huddling around candles indoors, on doorsteps and even in the streets. A few yards from my house, university students played *Scotland the Brave* on bagpipes at 1 a.m.

Not everything reflected so well on humanity: a few store owners suddenly wanted $3 for a single flashlight battery, and the occasional electrician's truck roved the city's streets looking for homeowners desperate enough to pay ludicrously high prices to reattach downed electrical wires. I prefer to remember instead the college kid wearing a bathing suit in the rain, clearing debris from the drains in front of my house. M

Neither massive old trees nor modern sailboats withstood the force of the storm's winds



TIM KROCHAK/HALIFAX CHRONICLE HERALD/CP (LEFT); PAUL CHIASSON/CP



McGuinty and his wife, Terri, celebrate taking 72 seats in the provincial legislature

JIM YOUNG/REUTERS

RED DAWN

The Liberal sweep changes the political landscape in more than just Ontario, writes Charlie Gillis

BY THE LAST DAY of campaigning, the death rattle was hard to ignore. You could hear it in Ernie Eves's voice—reduced to a mere croak by feverish, eleventh-hour stumping—and in the scattered applause of sparse crowds along the Ontario Tory premier's campaign route. At a strip mall in Mississauga, Eves stopped to rally his troops with visions of a "third consecutive Progressive Conservative majority." But like the tinny theme music that echoed from the speakers on his campaign bus, the promise rang hollow. As the Tory wagon disappeared over a bleak horizon, a clutch of volunteers stood shivering on the sidewalk, grasping for moral victories. "Winning the vote is obviously important," said Brett McDermott, 25. "But to influence a government, you don't just need members in the legislature, you need dedicated, hard working people on the ground. That's what we have here."

Maybe. But after eight years of Conservative rule in Ontario, that ground has started shaking—and not just for provincial Tories. With his landslide win in last week's election, Liberal Dalton McGuinty stymied the tax-cutting, government-shrinking campaign formula that had swept the Tories to power under Eves's predecessor, Mike Harris, in 1995, and has brought free-enterprise parties to power in Alberta and British Columbia. The repudiation couldn't have been more emphatic: fully 46 per cent of voters put their trust in McGuinty and his team. That was enough to give the Liberals 72 of the 103 seats in the provincial legislature, overwhelming the Tories' 24 and the New Democrats' seven. More remarkably, the Grits won by promising to roll back more than $4.5 billion worth of tax breaks planned by the Conservatives—money McGuinty pledged to reinvest in schools and hospitals. For this reason, last week's decision was widely interpreted as a rejection of the tax-cutting, privatizing ethos of Harris's so-called Common Sense Revolution. Even after McGuinty conceded that deficit concerns might delay his spending program, polls gave him a 15-point edge in the race, suggesting voters were motivated by something other than self-interest. "They've rejected the politics of division and chosen instead to work together," McGuinty concluded in his victory speech. "They've rejected fear and chosen hope."

Whatever their reasons, their choice reverberated far beyond Queen's Park. In Ottawa, Intergovernmental Affairs Minister Stephane Dion greeted regime change in Ontario like a pilgrim reaching Mecca. "It's very exciting to think that the biggest, richest province in Canada will have a government that shares our own liberal values," he told *Maclean's*. Like many in the Liberal cabinet, Dion had frequently clashed with the Harris-led Tories on issues ranging from health care funding to low-income housing, reflecting the deep partisan divide between the two governments. Dion now hopes Ontario will proceed with federal-provincial initiatives that other provinces approved long ago—starting with manpower training and immigration agreements. "Yes, things have been prosperous under Chrétien and Harris," he said, "but there have been a lot of headaches trying to reconcile the two different approaches."

> **'THEY'VE** rejected the politics of division and chosen instead to work together'

The news was less welcome in Alberta, where the ruling Conservatives have lost a key ally in federal-provincial relations. After winning his first majority, Harris made fast friends with Ralph Klein, frequently backing his Alberta counterpart against what Klein decried as federal intrusions on provincial jurisdiction. Replacing Harris when he left office in April 2002, Eves picked up the line, voicing concerns about the Kyoto Protocol on climate change and federal proposals to create a national health care council. Klein put on a brave face as the pro-Kyoto McGuinty steamed toward victory, insisting he can work with anyone. But his advisers were skeptical. "Obviously, we'd prefer to have a government in Ontario that's more in line with our own thinking," said one senior official. "I think when Mr. McGuinty's been in power for a while he'll find that issues like Kyoto aren't so black and white."

Together, the responses point to an ongoing realignment of interprovincial powers as a result of recent elections, including the Liberal victory in Quebec earlier this year. Steve Patten, a University of Alberta political scientist, notes that conservative premiers have been setting the intergovernmental agenda for the past few years, primarily because they are able to work together. "The fact that Mike Harris and Ralph Klein think in the same way has really made a difference," he says. With those ties broken, Klein will likely forge closer links with B.C., where Gordon Campbell's provincial Liberals share many of his values, Patten says. He can also hope that the right-leaning Saskatchewan Party unseats the NDP in that province's upcoming election, creating a bloc of conservative governments west of Manitoba. "The situation is more fluid now," notes Patten, "so the potential for change is great."

None of which is to say all conservatives mourn the death of Tory rule in Ontario. At the federal level, Progressive Conservatives are still smarting from the provincial party's decision not to back the federal Tories over the the Canadian Alliance in the 2000 federal election—a move that left federal PC candidates in a curious spot while some of their Ontario cousins plotted against them in the back rooms, many found themselves answering for the Harris government's least popular policies on the doorstep. Gary Schellenberger, the province's only Conservative MP, recalls getting doors slammed in his face when he ran unsuccessfully in 2000 in Perth-Middlesex, near London. This while two of Harris's cabinet ministers, Tony Clement and Jim Flaherty, campaigned publicly for the Alliance. "I had to chase down some of those [voters]," recalls Schellenberger, "and say, 'Look, I'm a federal Progressive Conservative member. There is a distinction to be made.'"

He did, in the end, win a by-election in the same riding last May. But Schellenberger shed few tears for the provincial party last week, arguing the federal party has a better hope of regaining its status as the "true Progressive Conservatives" without them. At the very least, he says with evident relief, "it's not going to get any harder." M

ANDREW VAUGHAN/CP

P.E.I. VOTES—AND VOTES AND VOTES

Think politics matters on Prince Edward Island? Well, consider last week's provincial election, the day Hurricane Juan swept through the province, leaving two-thirds of its households without power. Even so, a startling 83 per cent of eligible voters cast their ballot, many by candlelight, returning Pat Binns's Tories to power for a third consecutive term. That would be an unprecedented voter turnout virtually anywhere but P.E.I., where elections are serious business. "The ridings are so small that everyone knows the candidates personally," says Peter McKenna, who teaches political studies at the University of Prince Edward Island in Charlottetown.

Adding to the urgency: a few votes mean disproportionately more in Prince Edward Island than they do in bigger provinces. In 1996, for instance, the Binns-led Tories swept into power with 18 seats in the 27-seat legislature despite recording only 2,100 more total votes than the Liberals. Last week's results again underlined the disconnect between a party's popular vote and its clout in the legislature. The Grits, who received 43 per cent of the popular vote, won only four ridings. The competent, managerial Tory administration, on the other hand, took 23 seats—which meant it won 85 per cent of the province's ridings with 54 per cent of the popular vote. During the campaign, Binns bragged about being premier of "PC Island." In a province where 50 votes here or there can make or break an election, that's open to question.

JOHN DEMONT



Binns wins a third consecutive majority

IN PRAISE OF BACK-STABBERS

Disloyalty to one's leader is highly underrated, writes JOHN GEDDES



THERE SHOULD be bronze plaques. Put one in front of the defunct Regal Constellation Hotel on Toronto's airport strip. That's the concrete hulk where Paul Martin's gang once convened to discuss when, if ever, Jean Chrétien might retire—and what they might do to bring that day closer. Another should adorn that much more agreeable *auberge*, Montreal's Ritz-Carlton, where Brian Mulroney solemnly promised Joe Clark—and nobody does solemn quite like Mulroney—that he wouldn't undermine Clark's leadership of the Tory party. (Apparently, Joe bought it.) But the first such marker to great moments in political double-dealing must be put up outside Toronto's Albany Club, where Dalton Camp launched his campaign to dump John Diefenbaker with a provocative speech on the limits of loyalty in politics.

Or, to put it another way, Camp's theme, when he addressed a closed meeting of Conservatives back in May 1966, was that stirring moment when a thinking partisan must embrace disloyalty. It's a rich subject. Disloyalty must be the most underrated commodity in democratic politics. Reviled by those who claim that fealty to the leader is the essence of party discipline. Disparaged by pious pundits who find conniving backroom types an easy target for lectures on good manners. Feared—and fear is what it really comes down to—by those leaders, like Chrétien, Clark and Diefenbaker, who find themselves in the undignified position of having to demand the loyalty they no longer inspire.

Most ecosystems need their destructive agents. Forest fires are frightening to watch—but they clear the way for new growth. In party politics, there's no use praying for a lightning strike to ignite the rotting timber. Somebody has to strike the match, and that somebody should be prepared to get scorched in

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the process Such is the moral of the Camp story, as told so vividly in the engaging new biography *The Player: The Life & Times of Dalton Camp*, by Geoffrey Stevens In bringing down Diefenbaker, Camp became a pariah to many Tories, and, for all his admirers, remained a lonely figure in the party up to his death last year "The raccoon was stronger than anything Camp had anticipated," Stevens writes "And it proved more enduring than anyone could have predicted, surviving even the departure and death of Diefenbaker."

But the rewards of creative disloyalty are well worth the risks Does anyone really believe the Conservatives would have been better off sticking with Diefenbaker? Camp and those who rebelled with him must have taken deep satisfaction from having done what had to be done. Similarly, while nobody praised Mulroney's operatives for making Clark's life miserable, is there a plausible case that Clark deserved to remain as leader? For those who forgot what he was like the first time around, his comeback from 1998 until last June—a period that saw the Tories drop from 20 seats to 12—served as a more than sufficient reminder of his limitations. Finally, what was so wrong with Martin's cabal conspiring to shove Chrétien toward the exit? Their alternative was more popular with party and populace, and he wasn't getting any younger. They had a good case for a little controlled burning in the Liberal woodlot

What's worrying today is that Martin has too exclusive a grip on the governing party. No faction capable of thoughtful disloyalty toward him is now evident One can only hope it emerges in due course. When it does—if it does—it needn't rise to the level of outright revolt to be useful. Consider the way John Turner privately sniped away at Pierre Trudeau through the late '70s, talking down Trudeau's grasp of economic policy at cocktail parties Turner and his loyalists kept alive the neglected strain of business-friendly Liberalism that Martin ultimately inherited—a notable accomplishment, even if Turner failed when he got his own chance as leader. Disloyalty can be a close cousin to diversity

A note of encouragement to any Liberal tempted by the noble calling of internecine dissent it looks like fun Dalton Camp was not a dour man Let's commission a bas-relief of his amused face for those plaques, just to remind us of the satisfactions reserved for those who hatch disloyal plans behind closed doors M



SHOCK TALK

The Radwanski affair is just the latest to illustrate how Ottawa needs better whistle-blower protection

DECIDING TO become a dissenter inside a political party is often an act of courage Breaking with the code of institutional loyalty inside the public service to reveal wrongdoing should never have to be. Yet, as last week's shocking auditor general's report on former privacy commissioner George Radwanski revealed, bureaucrats under his thumb were terrorized into silence. "We found an environment of fear and arbitrariness in the office of the privacy commissioner," Auditor General Sheila Fraser said "The effect of this breakdown was a climate that allowed the abuse of the public treasury for the benefit of the former commissioner and a few senior executives"

Beyond the sordid details of Radwanski's conduct, the deeper scandal may be that federal whistle-blower protections are so weak that honest bureaucrats didn't feel safe in exposing the pillaging of the privacy commissioner's budget Pressed on the issue in the Commons, Treasury Board President Lucienne Robillard, the cabinet minister responsible for the public service, promised new recommendations in January on protecting federal employees who reveal misconduct "On behalf of my government, I will commit to do whatever we need to do to protect employees who disclose wrongdoing," Robillard said. "We want employees to do that without fear of reprisals"

Bureaucrats in the privacy commissioner's office worked in an 'environment of fear'

Sounds good, but why did it take the outrageous Radwanski affair—so egregious the RCMP is now investigating to see if criminal charges must be laid—to get this far? After all, there have been high profile cases illustrating the need for whistle blower protection in the recent past. Health Canada scientists faced reprisals over expressing concerns about bovine growth hormone. A Foreign Affairs official was pressured when she wanted to reveal excessive spending in embassies. A well organized coalition, organized by the group Democracy Watch, has been lobbying for coherent whistle-blower safeguards The government's own public service integrity officer, Edward Keyserlingk, has recently added his voice to those urging similar reforms Now, the government might just have to pay attention J.G.

JONATHAN HAYWARD/CP

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'I FEEL GOOD, IT'S EXHILARATING'

Manulife's $15-billion bid for John Hancock will create a 'a world-class company'

DOMINIC D'ALESSANDRO, CEO of Toronto-based Manulife Financial Corp , last week unveiled a whopping $15-billion takeover bid for Boston-based John Hancock Financial Services Inc. If the deal succeeds—it has the blessing of Hancock's CEO, coincidentally named *David* D'Alessandro—the Canadian D'Alessandro, 56, will oversee the world's fifth-largest life insurer, and second-largest in North America. In a whirlwind week, he spoke with **Katherine Macklem**, *Maclean's* National Business Correspondent

You've struck the largest cross-border deal ever seen in Canada. How are you feeling?
I'm a little tired, actually I'm running out of gas. But I feel good, it's exhilarating

In the insurance biz, is bigger better?
I don't know that automatically follows We've set out to build a world class company that would be a leader in our industry, and this takes us a long way there.

Do you think the deal will set off a wave of consolidation in the U.S.?
In Canada, consolidation took place years ago, so we have huge banks and sizable insurance companies. In the U S , there are still 900 or so insurance companies Consolidation pressures are not going to abate

Could the John Hancock deal stop you from participating in more mergers?
For the next few years it would be imprudent for us to take our eye off the ball The first order of business is to (a) consummate this transaction and (b) integrate the two companies It's not a trivial undertaking

Clarica and Canada Life were bought by two of your competitors. Your urge to merge with CIBC was apparently quashed by Ottawa. Were you under pressure to get this deal done?
I wasn't getting any pressure from my investors We have one of the best-performing insurance stocks in the world Columnists can say what they wish, but people vote with their money in the stock market

You're looking to cut about $350 million in costs. Where will that come from?
There are a lot of businesses that have overlap across the board, whether it's at head office or in backroom services

Will there be job cuts?
We'd like to keep those to a minimum



The merger would give D'Alessandro a bigger firm and brand-name recognition in the U.S.

But at senior levels, you don't need two of everything

What happens with Hancock's Maritime Life and the jobs there?
We will not brutalize Halifax It wouldn't help us if we antagonize the Maritimers

Manulife's share price fell with the deal. Why?
Arbitraging activity normally puts pressure on your stock price. In addition, we're going to issue an enormous amount of stock to U.S investors, and the concern is that may lead to an imbalance of sellers for awhile That's why we talked about buying back $3 billion of our stock, which will hopefully soak up most of the excess supply

In the past, you've lamented excesses in executive compensation. Yet John Hancock's CEO made US$22 million last year, much more than you or his U.S. peers.
That's a little unfair The US$22 million included certain one-time payments

Are you satisfied that his compensation package is fair?
I don't think it is as egregious as it is being portrayed We are quite comfortable that the compensation issues can be dealt with.

John Hancock is a top Olympic sponsor. Will Manulife sponsor Vancouver-Whistler?
I don't know if this merger entitles us to use the rings and be a sponsor or not.

Could Manulife end up moving its head office south of the border?
It's not going to happen on my watch M

KEVIN FRAYER/CP

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BACKBONE, NOT BACKDOWN

It's long been Tony Blair's mantra. But as he faces outrage over Iraq and his domestic policies, how much longer can the Labour PM survive?

BY PAUL WELLS

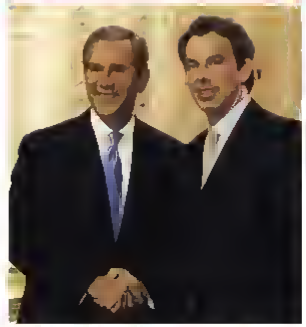
IT'S NEVER GOOD to use your best material before its time. "No backing down," Tony Blair once said. "Back*bone*, not back*down*, is what Britain needs." The only problem is he said it in 1998 when he'd been prime minister for barely a year, and nobody seriously expected him to back down on anything yet. What could he say now, when he was in real trouble?

The mood of the Labour party as it gathered in the southern resort city of Bournemouth for its annual conference was almost giddily nervous. So much had happened in the year since the previous gathering. So very much indeed.

A war in Iraq. The deaths of 51 British soldiers. The refusal of many Iraqis to embrace the British and American troops as liberators. The failure, so far, to find the weapons of mass destruction that had been Blair's main reason for joining the invasion. The BBC's allegation that Blair's government had "sexed up" intelligence reports to make the WMD threat seem more menacing. And most shocking of all, the apparent suicide of David Kelly, the weapons expert whose unattributed comments had been the basis of the BBC report.

For the first time, polls are finding majorities saying they don't trust what Blair says. His communications chief and most trusted lieutenant, Alastair Campbell, resigned over the summer, a concession to the growing belief that the Blair government is obsessed with "spin."

Domestic politics has been offering less and less respite from the agony of Iraq. The Blair government's policies on crime, immigration, health care and universities have led to increasing criticism from the big unions and ordinary working class folk who form the core of Labour support. Blair advocates "top up fees" of more than $6,000 per year to university tuition, payable through a surtax once the student is working after graduation. He wants Britain's best hospitals to have unprecedented autonomy from the state-run National Health Service. For a lot of supporters of the party he rechristened New Labour after he became its leader in 1994, he has been putting too much New and not enough Labour into the mix.



The alliance with George W. Bush has been a costly one for the British prime minister

In a sense, the real surprise is that it has taken this long for the going to get rough. Nearing the 6½-year mark, Blair is the longest continuously serving Labour prime minister in the 103-year history of the party. Even so, with the Conservatives in disarray under Iain Duncan Smith, yet another in that party's series of ineffectual leaders, Blair can afford to sink a little lower yet before Labour is in any danger of losing the next election.

Blair remains a subject of almost totemic fascination among Britons. The fastest-rising paperback on the *Observer*'s bestseller list is Sue Townsend's ribald satire, *Number Ten*, about a very Blairish prime minister who tours the nation disguised in drag to get back in touch with ordinary people. A television drama about Blair's rivalry with his finance minister, Gordon Brown, was the hottest item of the broadcast week. It was preceded by an even more amazing pseudo-documentary in which Blair's recent behaviour was analyzed by teams of psychologists for evidence of pathology.

At one point, the TV screen showed a bookish fellow from the University of Essex explaining the significance of Blair's transformation from a leader who was starved for affection into a leader who does what he wants, regardless of public opinion. "In Jungian psychology, we often note that an extreme position often swings over to its polar opposite," the professor explained.

FIONA HANSON/PA PHOTO (LEFT); PA PHOTO

calmly. "It's actually, I'm afraid, in many individuals a sign of neurosis."

Well. What's a prime minister to do, when he's sinking in the polls and the TV networks are speculating about his mental stability? Fortunately, Blair still has a lot of allies on the government benches. They fanned out for days before his climactic conference speech to soften up public opinion with horror stories about the Conservative alternative. "Don't ever forget the sheer misery of that Tory legacy, which is being referred to from time to time," John Prescott, the very old-fashioned, meat-and-potatoes deputy prime minister, told the delegates.

It was an effective message, so much so that the anti-Blair rebel fringe did what it could to push back. Clare Short resigned from the Blair cabinet in protest against its handling of its involvement in postwar Iraq. She was everywhere at this conference, trying to persuade delegates that opposition to Blair was the purest expression of loyalty to Labour values.

At a debate organized by the *Independent* newspaper, she addressed what amounted to the key question of the week: "What is a Labour government for?" "One probably shouldn't begin a definition with a negative," she said, making it clear she was about to begin her definition with a negative, "but clearly a Labour government isn't just for keeping a Labour government."

John Reid, the newly minted health minister and a faithful Blair acolyte, was on hand to say, in effect, that that's just what a loser would say. "For many, many years it was not entirely held as a legitimate objective of the Labour party to form a Labour government." As the Blair forces often do, he urged the party not to become its own worst enemy.

And here came the first bit of good news for the Blairites: the party still seems disposed to help them out. Reid and Short, inevitably, got into a slanging match about Iraq. When a couple of delegates applauded Reid's defence of the invasion, Short noted, snidely: "That's two."

The woman sitting next to me in the audience shouted, "Three!" and started clapping. Others joined in.

Short shrugged. "Fifteen."

A man at the back shouted a tennis metaphor: "Fifteen love!" Short was, indeed, having trouble scoring any points with this crowd.

So by the time Blair arrived for his keynote address, there was ample evidence he had defenders in the grassroots, as well as detractors. Still, he took the podium wearing a look barely short of utter dread. "So what do we do then?" he asked, barely a minute into his 50-minute address. "Give up on it? Or get on with it? That's the question."





Protestors marching through central London last month; Blair in Bournemouth (top)

That was the choice his speech posed, the eternal choice between hard decisions and easy surrender. His tone, though, was new: not resolute, but fragile, almost beseeching. He let the delegates know he's had a rotten year. "Why is it so tough?" Simply because "government's tough. Opposition was easy. All our MPs had to do was go back to their constituents and blame it on the government." Pause for effect. "Some of them still do."

'ANY politician can do the popular things,' Blair said. 'I know—I used to do a few of them.'

He promised, vaguely and quite unconvincingly, to be less of a "top-down" leader. He promised to consult, but not to change his mind as a result of any consultation. And indeed, when delegates later passed motions decrying John Reid's plan for healthcare decentralization, Blair and Reid gave no sign of any intention to change their minds.

It was time for backbone, not backdown, as apparently it always is when you're Tony Blair. "Any politician can do the popular things," he said. "I know—I used to do a few of them." But what was needed now was discipline for the real long haul—not just an unprecedented third consecutive Labour government, but "a historic realignment of the political forces shaping our country and the wider world."

Truth be told, it was all a bit of a mishmash. Blair presented himself as a humbled man, but not particularly humble. Ready to listen, but not before he had explained that no amount of talking would change his mind. "I've not got a reverse gear," he shrugged.

It won him a seven-minute standing ovation, the longest he's had in 10 years of conference speeches. It did not produce any

GORDON Brown has become steadily more brazen in his ambition to succeed Blair

weapons of mass destruction or a nation of grateful Iraqis. It did not thaw the deep freeze in Britain's relations with France or, in itself, make the creaky National Health Service any more efficient. The day after his speech, a judge ruled that the government must pay for a woman's trip to France to have her hip replaced, because the NHS had failed to perform the operation in a reasonable time.

The Tories remain a mess. Despite a three-way tie in the polls—the centrist Liberal Democrats, who have never held power, are the other party—most analysts expect Labour will still manage to win the next election without much trouble.

How much longer Blair can last is not entirely the same question. His closest ally and fiercest rival, Gordon Brown, has become steadily more brazen in his ambition to succeed Blair. Other candidates for the succession are hovering.

A voice of conscience? Robin Cook, who quit the Blair cabinet over Iraq but is orders of magnitude more impressive than Clare Short, was everywhere at this conference, showing off his plummy accent and prosecutorial logic.

An even harder centre-right line? David Blunkett, the blind, tough as nails home secretary, is driving the crackdown on crime and illegal immigration that promises to be a centrepiece of Labour's domestic agenda for at least the next year. On the conference's last day, he casually filleted his opposition critics, suggesting he is not the kind of guy you want to get into a fight with.

Blairism in new garb? Alan Milburn, a fierce Blair loyalist, stepped down as health minister in the spring to spend more time with his family, but pointedly refuses to rule out a future run at the leadership. "Look," he told the *Sunday Times*, "how do I know how I'll feel in a year or two's time?"

That's a pretty tight deadline, coming from a guy who's supposed to be one of Blair's biggest fans. Like the clouds over Bournemouth and the creases in the prime minister's brow, it suggests Tony Blair's troubles are only beginning. M



CHRIS ISON/PA PHOTO (TOP); ALASTAIR GRANT/AP



MILK OF THE ALLEY CATS

Avaricious dot-com bosses slathered themselves with options

IT WAS THE BEST OF TIMES for holders of technology stocks. It was the worst of times for holders of dividend-paying stocks. It was the epoch of tech CEOs' belief in their omniscience. In the 1990s, they revelled in the adulation that had once been the province of movie stars and sports heroes. Millions of baby boomers who had previously ignored the stock market plunged their life savings into Nasdaq, the home of tech stocks, which graduated from cheeky adolescence into status as "the stock market for the next century."

It was the epoch of incredulity about companies who believed that stockholders were entitled to share in their companies' profit growth through steady growth in dividends. It was the time when two approaches to managing the money in corporate kitties to deliver returns to shareholders competed for investor attention: alley cat and pretty kitty.

From 1926 to 1995, U.S. stocks delivered average annual returns to investors of 9.5 per cent. Two-thirds of those returns came from reinvesting dividends. But the captains of new economy companies unanimously rejected dividends as a means of rewarding stockholders. They pointed to the high income taxes on dividends (which in the U.S. were taxed at the same rate as interest payments) compared with the low tax rate on capital gains. What the "alley cat" CEOs did not disclose was their personal motivation for disdaining dividends. They were slathering themselves and other company insiders with stock options that became worth trillions of dollars as tech stock prices soared majestically to the stratosphere. According to the sleazy accounting practices used by the techmeisters, those options didn't cost stockholders a dime. *Rien, niente*, zilch, nada. However, the companies were issuing billions of new shares as options were exercised.

So how to prevent stock prices from falling when insiders enriched themselves beyond the dreams of avarice? Answer: use the corporate kitty to buy back stock that insiders were selling, thereby disguising the real cost of the options. Those buybacks would also drive up share prices, meaning, in theory, bigger capital gains for all stockholders. Never in the history of capitalism was so much money taken from corporate treasuries to enrich a tiny group of top executives, people whom historian Niall Ferguson calls "the CEOcracy." Their kitty assaults were—and still are—far beyond the combined looting by all past U.S. companies combined. Result: the CEOcrats remain astoundingly rich despite a 65 per cent fall in Nasdaq since March 2000, and they are gaining anew with vast allotments of new options issued at distressed price levels. In July, according to a survey of insider trading, tech insiders sold 150 shares of stock for every share they purchased. Nobody can call these serial destroyers of shareholder value stupid. They are the best ever at creating wealth—for themselves. Their alley cat kitties are their personal pets.

NOBODY could ever call these serial destroyers of shareholder value stupid. They are the best ever at creating wealth—for themselves

Meanwhile, what has been happening at the typical non-tech company, with its "pretty kitty" approach to delivering shareholder value? George W. Bush has ridden to its rescue. He has repealed the punitive approach to dividend taxation (which Canadians eliminated in 1971 with the introduction of the dividend tax credit). Maximum tax on dividends is now 15 per cent—the same as on capital gains. Result: pretty kitty companies are falling all over themselves to boost dividends. Among the big names, Citigroup hiked its payout by a cool 75 per cent; McDonald's by 70 per cent. The 15 per cent dividend tax rate also applies to foreign companies headquartered in nations having a tax treaty with the U.S. and whose shares trade in the U.S. The big Canadian bank stocks have been notably big winners from this Bush reform. (The typical Canadian bank's dividends now deliver roughly three times the after-tax returns to Americans compared with money-market funds.)

What will emerge in the U.S. stock market will be a new approach to equity valuation. As people face retirement at a time of low interest rates, the traditional retirement investment strategy of investing heavily in bonds and minimally in stocks requires reconsideration. The great pretty kitty companies have impressive records for increasing their dividends at rates higher than inflation. A new retiree who puts together a portfolio of blue chips can, in effect, create a personal inflation-indexed annuity—and leave the capital intact for the children.

Wall Street was sullenly silent during this year's Congressional debate on the lower dividend tax rate. Its research (the good and the bad) has been completely focused on capital gains. The typical Street report lists the dividend yield, if at all, down with such minutiae as the company's address. The Street profits heavily from commissions on the stock buybacks of the alley cat companies. Dividends mean money flowing to people who could use it for other purposes than their brokerage accounts. Ominously, the prospect of investing and holding for the near-certainty of long-term dividend growth means investors will be trading far less frequently—a ghastly thought for the bigwigs of Lower Manhattan.

What's bad for them is good for investors—and ultimately good for equities as an asset class when the alley cats inevitably face the guillotine. M

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'IT'S A VERY LIBERATING THING'

A motherless child comes full circle as a dying mom in *My Life Without Me*

ALTHOUGH she's just 24, Sarah Polley is one of Canada's most seasoned actors. Since emerging as a child star with *The Adventures of Baron Munchausen* (1988) and TV's *Road to Avonlea* (1989), she's appeared in more than 20 feature films. In her latest, *My Life Without Me*, she gives a raw, luminous performance as a happily married blue-collar mother of two—who takes a lover (Mark Ruffalo) after learning she has two months to live. Polley spoke to *Maclean's* writer **Brian D. Johnson** last month at the Toronto International Film Festival.

In *My Life Without Me* you play a dying mother. Was this a stretch?

It was the least of a stretch of anything I've done. My mom died of cancer when I was 11. So I've seen somebody go through that. It was such a privilege to try to understand what it was like for my mom, and realize how much harder it would have been for her to leave a little kid than it was for me to lose a mom. It's a very liberating thing to dump some of your self-pity, and to be able to embrace that degree of empathy. The biggest stretch was playing someone who had a mother as an adult—the relationship with Debbie Harry—because I have no reference point. I don't know what it feels like to have someone you sort of resent, and have baggage with. I only have this idealized version.

Somebody who has two months to live can be selfish. I don't know what it was like for your mother, but she didn't get to have an affair with Mark Ruffalo.

No, sadly. With this character, what's great is there's such a degree of acceptance: as soon as she finds out she's going to die, she doesn't fight it. There's no denial, so she's really able to embrace dying in such a way that she's really living life.

Every movie swallows up a big chunk of your life. How do you choose your work?

I have a new criterion. At the beginning it was the script, then it was the role. Now it has to be a filmmaker. I'm willing to fail with. I have to look into their eyes and feel that if this is the biggest disaster ever made, I'm willing to go down with them. I have to feel like it's OK if this is the last thing that I ever do. It's all such a gamble, because you have no idea from a script. I've worked on films where the script was shit, and the movie was great, and movies where the script was amazing, and the movie was crap.

The vast majority of filmmakers are male. You've worked with three women—Isabel Coixet (*My Life Without Me*), Kathryn Bigelow (*The Weight of Water*) and Audrey Wells (*Guinevere*). Can you generalize about working with female directors?

I would say the thing they have in common is their absolute determination. I remember talking to Kathryn Bigelow about directing as a woman, and she said, "You have to be like a dog with a bone, because everyone will try to take it away from you." If a man is a bit of a dick on set, he gets called difficult and temperamental, but he's a genius. And women, you hear the words whore and bitch and c--- all the time.

You studied directing at the Canadian Film Centre, and made a short film *I Shout Love* that was very well received. Are you planning to direct a feature?

I'd really love to balance my life between writing and directing and acting. I've written a feature that I want to shoot in the summer. The basic premise is—God, I haven't figured out a way to talk about it yet—it's about a 12-year-old girl on a kids' show set. It's not autobiographical, but obviously the atmosphere comes from experience. It's either a very black comedy or a drama.

You've been exceptionally outspoken, almost dangerously so. Are you escalating, or scaling back your political work?

I'm in a bit of a down period right now in terms of political stuff, and it's not something that I'm very happy or proud of. I've been so consumed with trying to learn about directing and writing and acting at the same time. That's been my focus, and I feel that there's this huge void. I feel ashamed of it, because I do think it's a responsibility. It's not like something that is a fun thing to have in your life. I just think it's your job as a person, and especially in Ontario, where we've had a Conservative government that's destroyed so much in so little time. I'm trying to figure out how to be useful, basically, and I don't think I'm useful as a spokesperson. I don't think I'm qualified.

Do you think it's generally a bad idea for a star to serve as a spokesperson?

I don't think it's ever a bad idea for anyone to express an opinion. I find it brave when an actor talks about an issue, and on the flip side, I find it incredibly depressing that I'm not listening to someone who's dedicated their life to fighting for this issue. So it's a double-edged thing. I actually found Sean Penn's fact-finding mission to Iraq, as innocent and naive as it was, really lovely and inspiring—that he got on a plane, went there, and did that, and took out that ad in the *Washington Post*. I don't think anyone took him seriously. I just think that on both sides of the spectrum, everyone gets seduced by the idea of, "Oh, you're an actor, you can get media attention, that's good." It's not always good. Sometimes it's laughable.

Do your politics get you into any trouble in terms of your employers, in your work? Do you burn any bridges?

It's funny. I grew up with a dad who's a conspiracy theorist, who thinks that Hollywood is run by three guys in suits who at any point will cut you. I went into talking about politics thinking that it would be the end of my career—and in some sense hoping for the glamour of going down in flames. The truth is, they're not organized enough. Nobody's talking to anybody. Nobody cares. I'm not enough of a threat to anyone for it to have any real consequences.



What's happening in your life these days?

I got married two weeks ago, actually.

Congratulations. Who's the guy?

Oh, some guy [laughs]. He's not an actor. It's not anybody you would know. I'll keep it quiet for as long as I can. I like the idea of having it just for myself for a while.

Do you want to be a mother?

Yeah, I do.

Soon?

Probably, but I don't know.

Do you weigh the timing of the decision against your career?

Yeah, although not too much. You realize it's never a smart time to have kids. There's never a practical, rational time. At some point, you decide to take the leap, so I don't know if that'll be this year or next year or five years from now. I'm not going to wait for the perfect time, because I don't think the perfect time is going to come. M

PHOTOGRAPH BY CHRIS WOODS



Photo Essay | BY ROGER LEMOYNE

MEMORY OF A MASSACRE

Eight years on, Srebrenica's pain continues

IT WAS EUROPE'S WORST ACT OF GENOCIDE since the Second World War. In July 1995, Bosnian Serbs took over the mostly Muslim town of Srebrenica. It had previously been celebrated for its hot-spring spas. But between July 12 and 16, Srebrenica's reputation changed—to that of charnel house. As a handful of Dutch UN peacekeepers stood helplessly by—and with 30 of them being held hostage—Serb forces systematically killed almost 8,000 Bosnian Muslim men and boys.

The murders took place in schools, warehouses and fields, with the victims buried in mass graves. After the Bosnian war ended in 1995, the International Commission on Missing Persons began to exhume bodies and attempt to identify them through DNA testing. On Sept. 20, 2003, survivors of the massacres organized a commemorative ceremony in Srebrenica, with former U.S. president Bill Clinton paying tribute to those who died. At that time, the remains of some of the victims who'd been identified were given a proper funeral. Since 1995, Canadian photojournalist Roger Lemoyne, a native of Montreal, has been documenting the aftermath of the massacre. *Maclean's* presents a selection of his work.







An attendant with a Srebrenica victim (top) and a mourning family (top right); a woman (right) tries to identify the missing in Visoko; villagers (far right) being deported from Zepa



The remains of a man (top) believed to have been killed while fleeing Srebrenica reading the names of survivors to refugees in Tuzla





THEY REALLY LIKE US, EH?

How can we truly be 'cool' when we're so obsessed with how others see us?

LANGUAGE BARRIERS can make questions difficult. Travellers learn to keep the concept simple: "Which way to the Pantheon?" "Do you have kaopectate?" "May I use your washroom *right now*?" Subtle or nuanced questions are usually to be avoided. Thus seasoned Canadian tourists would know better than to ask a German or a Spaniard: "Is Canada cool?"

Provided your audience understood a little English, the answer would be mimed immediately: vigorous nodding, arms clutching sides, pantomimed shivering. "Yes! Very cool! White bears!" Nonetheless it has recently been possible to answer that question implicitly in other ways. Newspapers, for example, taking notice of developments in a nation usually ignored—stories on peace movements, marijuana laws, same sex marriage and rage from the Vancan. Two weeks ago, Britain's *Economist* magazine, surveying Canada's social liberalism and economic successes, dared to state: "Indeed, a cautious case can be made that Canada is now rather cool." Not quite the ringing endorsement that appeared this summer in the *Washington Post*. "Just when you had all but forgotten that carbon-based life exists above the 49th parallel," wrote David Montgomery, "those sly Canadians have redefined their entire nation as Berkeley North."

Montgomery's article on recent Canadian political and cultural developments quickly became the centrepiece of evidence of Canada's transformation from ice-cold to cool-as-ice. "Isn't America supposed to be the cradle of the coolest, most cutting-edge culture?" he wondered. "Now Canada is leading the way. And America is looking fussy, Victorian and imperial."

The contrast does seem telling. While Canada moved toward blessing same-sex unions, it took a U.S. Supreme Court ruling to force the state of Texas to decriminalize private homosexual sex acts. Canada's refusal to participate in the invasion of Iraq, while hotly debated here, at least grouped us with the hip schoolyard rebels like France. Our marijuana decriminalization plans caused many Americans to cast wistful glances northward. Attention is being paid to Canada for daring social policy, rather than as the astonishing answer to the trivia question, "Which state is Michael J. Fox from?"

So is all this enough to make Canada cool?

Depends. If cool happens in the forest and there's no one around to see it . . . As I travelled in Europe this summer, signs of Canada were hard to come by. Avril, Shania,

ILLUSTRATION BY GRAHAM ROUMIEU

Celine and sometimes Alanis—that was pretty much Canada abroad. Then in Barcelona, the first real indication of something approximating genuine Canadian hip. I stumble upon a little bar called Què Bec? I go in to ask if there's a Canadian connection. A felicitous one, as it turns out.

Broken in two with a question mark added, the name of *la belle province* becomes a Catalonian phrase meaning, "What do I drink?" The bar was opened this spring by a trio of friends, one of whom, Bruno Langevin, is a former resident of little Fabre, Que. "Does the name make us cool?" ponders co-owner Carlos Tena. "Well, I think it makes us more international." Sitting in the bar that night, more evidence of the potential coolness of Canada. Riko, a Japanese friend of Tena, tells me she wants to live in Whitehorse someday. "I am very big Neil Young fan," she adds. I leave Què Bec? with a renewed appreciation of my country's contributions to the global pool of cool.



But Neil Young, or Avril Lavigne or Nelly Furtado, international Canadian flag bearers though they are, are problematic figures in a discussion of Canadian culture. How is their music intrinsically Canadian? Are Shania Twain's songs any more Canadian than a General Motors car made in Oshawa? And does the Hollywood success of Jim Carrey or Michael J. Fox say anything about Canada other than the ease of departure through our convenient airports?

The gradual elevation of Rick Mercer to the status of national icon may have come about because he's one of the few Canadian entertainment figures who seem indisputably Canuck. Arguably it is the brilliant (and brilliantly simple) achievement of the *Talking to Americans* TV specials that earned Mercer his national ranking somewhere well above governor-general. The specials, in which Mercer guilelessly asked ludicrous questions that revealed his American interview subjects (Harvard professors among them) to be stupendously ignorant of Canadian affairs, were fabulous pieces of Canadian television that, unlike other quality Canadian programming such as *Da Vinci's Inquest*, could exist only in Canada.

While we could certainly use a few more Mercers in this country, we are also hobbled by the incessant search for that which is truly Canuck. Much of the entertainment produced by Canadians for Canadians shares a depressing characteristic—it frequently struggles harder to be Canadian than to be entertaining. Canadian shows seek Canadian themes, Canadian magazines seek Canadian angles. That is something self-confident Americans are usually spared.

If the 49th parallel does sometimes appear to be the boundary between self-confident and self-conscious, it's not surprising—you would have to be particularly thick to grow up thinking Canada was all that mattered in the world. Arrogance is not a luxury Canadians are allowed, which suits most of us just fine. But when it comes to cool, our constant navel-gazing becomes a fatal flaw. Not to get all post-modern, but the very existence of this essay in Canada's national newsmagazine, pondering whether Canada is cool, pretty much answers its own question. Would Fonzie ever ask it of himself? Or, for that matter, Pierre Trudeau?

THE 49TH parallel sometimes appears to be the boundary between self-confident and self-conscious

Canada may indeed be singling itself out as a progressive North American island of social policy, breaking away from an increasingly different political culture south of the border. That's great, in my non-Catholic opinion. If it continues, it may solidify the Canadian sense of separation previously exemplified by health care and gun control. And despite the fact that the marijuana "decriminalization" bill is actually pretty small beer and two-tier health care an increasingly Canadian concept, I think it bodes well for Canada that we are breaking new trails in the snow while American talk-radio hosts gnash their teeth and threaten invasion.

But does any of this make Canada cool? Nah. We fuss about it too much.

Canadians delight in certain comparisons to our big, bruising neighbour—them boorish, us polite; them braying at resentful Italian waiters, us showing off our Maple Leaf lapel pins. (In that sense we are perhaps lucky not to be next door to France, which would be really depressing—the French are arrogant too, but so much better dressed.) But frankly, we lack the population base to compete in the coolness sweepstakes. When you consider that Canada has roughly the population of California—and that this week they could have Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger—you see the uphill battle we face. No, we're not cool. But consider the current cool list includes the likes of Ben Affleck, Jennifer Lopez, Hilary Duff and Sean (P. Diddy) Combs. Maybe we should leave well enough alone. M

ILLUSTRATION BY GRAHAM ROUMIEU

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Diabetes



IMPROVING LIVES THROUGH EDUCATION

"Like most people, I sure didn't want to have diabetes," begins 50-year-old Rosalyn Blackett, who is speaking to students at St. Patrick's Adult School in Ottawa. Blackett was diagnosed with type 2 diabetes when she was 42 and still living in St. John, N.B. "I knew I was at risk," she says, addressing someone in the front row of the auditorium, "because my mom and my dad both had type 2 diabetes."

Blackett was also overweight and did not have a healthy lifestyle. After noticing a few telltale symptoms (unusual thirst and frequent urination), "I thought I better go and have a test for diabetes." After her diagnosis, she was initially angry and went into denial. Then she tried bargaining with herself: "I thought, 'If I stop eating sugar, the diabetes will stop.' But of course, it didn't."

Still feeling depressed, she signed up for a three-day education session. Diabetes educators there taught Blackett how to manage her blood sugar with good nutrition and regular physical activity, glucose monitoring and oral medication, if necessary. And things began to shift. "I started to plan my meals more carefully and went back every six months to be monitored." Blackett's next breakthrough was to start exercising. "It took me two years, but I did it," she says. "First, I started walking, then swimming and now I work out two to three times a week!" Blackett tells the audience that today, she is able to manage her diabetes without medication and is slowly but surely losing weight, too.

Blackett is one of many volunteer speakers who share their stories to help raise awareness for the Canadian Diabetes Association. With lifestyle alone, she says, many people can prevent or delay getting the disease. If a person already has it, the message is better management – for quality of life and to avoid or delay complications. Blackett watched both of her parents suffer from what the complications can do. "Sometimes I think people don't realize how serious diabetes is and that it affects so many parts of our bodies."

Over two million Canadians have diabetes, which, if left untreated or improperly managed, can lead to complications including heart disease (two to four times more common in people with diabetes), adult blindness, serious kidney disease and limb amputations. Most people with diabetes (90 per cent) have type 2, which occurs when the pancreas does not produce enough insulin (the

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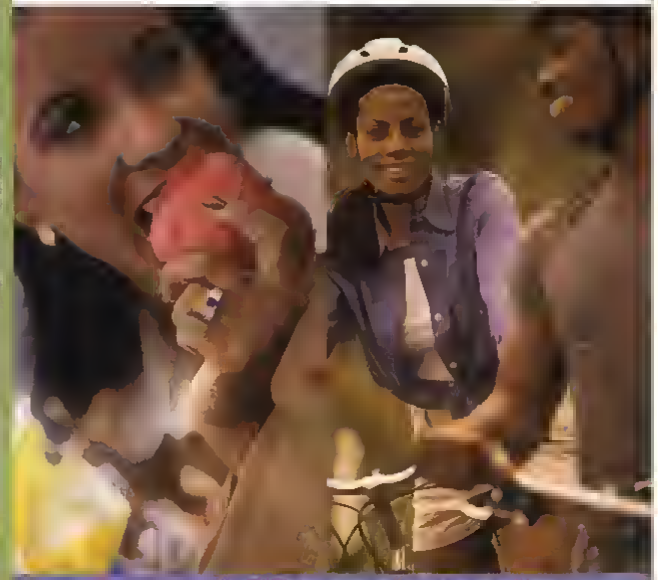
body needs insulin to use sugar for energy) or when the body does not effectively use the insulin that is produced. Type 1 diabetes occurs when the pancreas produces little or no insulin – about 10 per cent of people with diabetes have type 1. There is also a temporary condition during pregnancy called gestational diabetes, which affects two to four per cent of all pregnancies.

Type 2 diabetes is in the spotlight because it continues to increase in incidence in North America. Health professionals blame sedentary lifestyle trends and high rates of obesity in children and adults as well as the aging population. At the same time, the 2003 diabetes Atlas Report by the Ontario Institute for Clinical Evaluative Sciences shows that people in the province with diabetes are living longer and developing more advanced stages of the disease. This is the result of better care for people with diabetes, says Donna Lillie, vice-president of research and professional education, Canadian Diabetes Association. "But it is a costly burden on the healthcare system, and there are day-to-day quality of life issues for those who have the disease."

For everyone, a healthy diet, weight control, physical activity and stress reduction are key. These lifestyle recommendations tie into a larger healthy living agenda ("eat well, be active and don't smoke") that is being developed by organizations and professionals across Canada to help lower lifestyle-related diseases of all kinds. (Diabetes is a risk factor for high cholesterol, high blood pressure and heart disease – and vice versa.)

It's also important to know, says Lillie, that despite healthy lifestyle habits, type 2 diabetes will not be preventable in all cases. But we should always try, says Lillie.

"If we can't prevent diabetes, an earlier diagnosis is recommended. Then, for everyone with the disease, let's manage it aggressively, prevent complications and enhance quality of life."



To contact the Canadian Diabetes Association, call the toll-free information line 1-800-BANTING (1-800-226-8464) or visit *www.diabetes.ca*

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IMPROVING LIVES THROUGH RESEARCH

The Canadian Diabetes Association is a leader in all areas of research and contributes funding to many diverse and innovative projects across the country. It awarded over $5.3 million to researchers this year. "The main goal is to improve the quality of life for people living with diabetes," says Lillie, "and ultimately, to help find a cure." Here is a look at two promising areas of research.

GLP-1: A NEW WONDER DRUG?

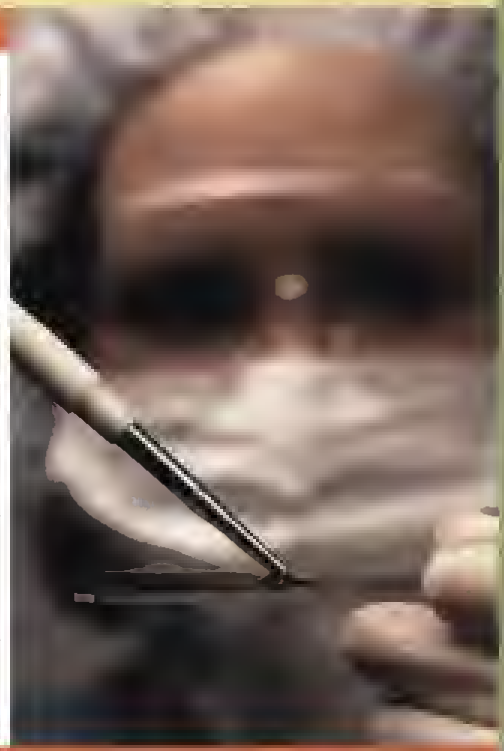
New diabetes drugs that mimic hormones in the gastrointestinal tract may eventually become the treatment of choice for many people because the drugs will not only help control the disease but help control weight as well.

GLP-1 (glucagon-like peptide-1) is one of these new drugs. It is a protein produced in the gastrointestinal tract when you eat. It helps control appetite and digestion of food, and also helps control blood glucose levels after eating, explains Dr. Daniel J. Drucker, an endocrinologist at Toronto General Hospital and director of the Banting and Best Diabetes Centre at the University of Toronto.

People with type 2 diabetes have a modest deficiency of GLP-1 in their bodies. "We're giving them GLP-1 in a pharmacological manner to try to boost the action of the hormone. GLP-1 inhibits food intake when given to patients with diabetes and obesity. It improves diabetes control through multiple mechanisms and prevents weight gain. In fact, most of the patients lose weight." Being overweight is a risk factor for type 2 diabetes. Also, drugs used to treat diabetes—and particularly insulin—are often associated with weight gain.

GLP-1 may provide other benefits, too, says Drucker, who has worked in this area since 1986 and has a Web site—*www.glucagon.com*—that provides information about his ongoing studies in this area. GLP-1 seems to have important properties that control the growth of the insulin-producing beta cells from the pancreas as well as preventing these cells from dying.

Many companies have GLP-1-based drugs in late-stage clinical trials and it is conceivable, says Drucker, that within the next year or two a drug will be available on the market. The first generation will be injected but alternative delivery systems are being developed for greater ease of use.



COD PROTEIN: PREVENTING INSULIN RESISTANCE

One day in the not-too-distant future your doctor may prescribe cod fish as preventive medicine for diabetes. Sound fishy? It isn't.

For many years researchers believed fish oil protected certain populations that ate a lot of fat but had low rates of diabetes, explains Dr. Andre Marette, a professor of physiology at Laval University. But now research suggests that the fish protein, not the oil, is the principal beneficial ingredient.

"We found that if we feed rats a diet rich in lipids and simple sugars, they normally develop obesity and diabetes. But if rats are fed proteins that have been isolated from cod along with the same concentrations of lipids and simple sugars, you can, to a large extent, prevent the development of insulin resistance and diabetes.

"We think that cod protein can have very beneficial effects on insulin sensitivity and help prevent diabetes," says Marette, whose research work is done in collaboration with Dr. Hélène Jacques, a registered dietitian and professor of nutrition at Laval.

Marette says studies looking at the effect of fish proteins in humans will begin in 2004. The initial treatment approach will be to increase the intake of fish protein through consumption of more lean (white) fish by obese people with insulin resistance. Using nutrients to treat disease is a growing science called neutraceuticals. ❑

Which would you rather have, a cholesterol test or a final exam?

For many, the first sign of heart disease is a heart attack. Did you know that one out of two adult Canadians is at risk of developing heart disease because they have high cholesterol? And that cardiovascular disease IS the leading cause of death in Canada?

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THANKS FOR THE MEMORIES

Web photographs of Canadian war graves link us to our heroic past

IN FAMILY MEMORIES, my Uncle Richard will always be the tough, amiable guy who prowled the turbulent Halifax waterfront of the 1930s. A quiet man, dubbed "Buster" by his six doting siblings, he preferred a duck hunt in the rural mist to his stevedore chores. And although he never started a brawl, he was not afraid to finish one. He once told two Americans to stop beating up a hapless Newfoundlander. When they turned on him, Buster polished them off in seconds. Oblivious to his father's lectures about the need for a university education, all he ever wanted was to be a policeman. But his Armenian face with its startling blue eyes, and his strange name and his struggling immigrant parents, were too alien for that long-ago Halifax. His application was rejected. When the Second World War erupted, he joined the merchant marine, then transferred to the North Nova Scotia Highlanders. A German sniper shot him between the eyes on Sept. 17, 1944 near Boulogne, France. His stark white marker stands proudly, and a mite forlornly, in the nearby Calais Canadian War Cemetery.

I have never been there. But a few weeks ago, I finally saw a photo of his stone, with that sad little phrase "beloved son" and my grandparents' names—because of Steve Douglas and his herculean Maple Leaf Legacy project. Douglas, now 47, was a freelance graphic designer and photographer living in London, Ont., in 1997 when he was inspired by a photo of an uncle's war grave, which he had taken two years before on a trip to England and pinned to his office wall. What, he wondered, about others who never get to see a family member's grave? Why not use digital cameras to photograph them—and post them on-line free of charge? Anyway, how long could it take?

Today, Douglas lives alone in Ypres, Belgium, within four hours of 1,400 Commonwealth war cemeteries, managing a bookstore devoted to British military history by day and updating his archives by night. So much for blithe plans: it turns out there are more than 115,000 Canadian war graves from the Boer War, the First and Second World Wars, the Korean War and peacekeeping missions, scattered across 74 nations, ranging from Burma to France.

Six years after he started his odyssey, without a cent of government funding, Douglas and more than 430 avid volunteers have accumulated 65,000 photographs of war graves. The first posting, several hundred photos, is slated to appear on-line this Remembrance Day. (In the interim, Douglas has mailed or e-mailed photos on request, asking for a $50 donation afterwards—if the recipient can afford it.) He now figures it will take until 2014, the centenary of the outbreak of the First World War, to complete the task. His site, *www.mapleleaflegacy.ca*, has engulfed his life. "It's very satisfying and very humbling," he says. "There is still a lot of ignorance about Canada's role in the wars."

After decades of neglect, Canada is belatedly exploring its wartime history. Three years ago, the Toronto-based Dominion Institute, with Ottawa's support, created the Memory Project, which includes a digital archive of the recollections of more than 300 servicemen, spanning almost 85 years of military experience. The mere sound of elderly voices cracking with emotion as they relate past turmoil is touching. Second World War vet Barney Danson, a former Trudeau-era defence minister, thinks the celebrations on the 50th anniversary of D-Day, June 6, 1944, began this slow process of remembering our wartime past. "I often think of those beautiful young men who never lived to be veterans," he says. "They earned all the medals—and never got to wear them."

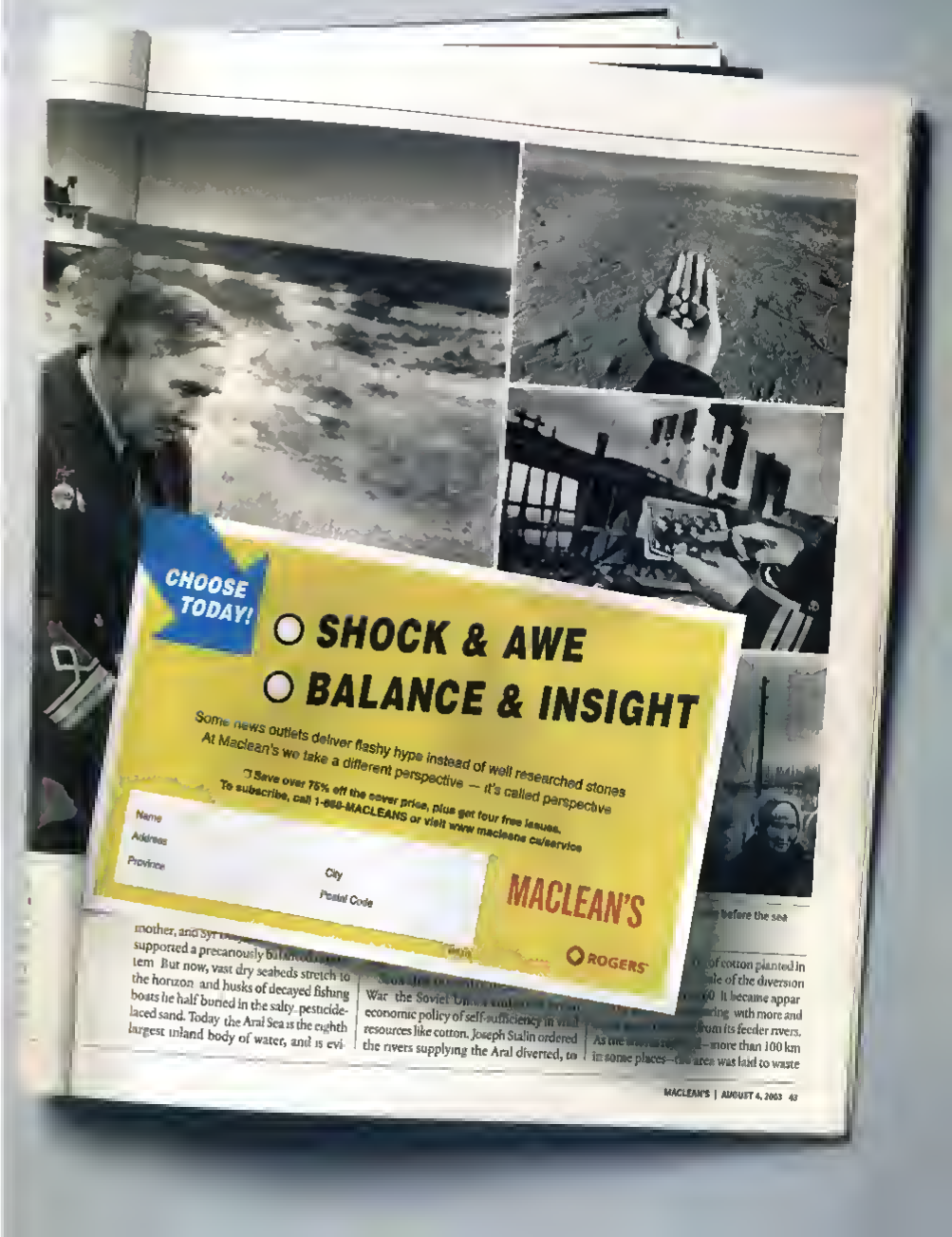
'I THINK of those young men who never lived to be veterans,' says Second World War vet Barney Danson. 'They earned the medals—and never got to wear them.'

Too often, the federal government itself forgets those perilous times—and their survivors. Last winter, Vic Leach, outgoing manager of B.C.'s New Westminster Seniors' Bureau, organized a veterans' meeting to discuss benefits. To his surprise, hundreds responded. And they related difficulties in obtaining access to everything from the Veterans Independence Program, which provides services such as housecleaning, to extended health benefits such as enhanced pharmacare. Many did not even know they were eligible for disability pensions. So far, Leach has secured pensions, services and benefits worth roughly $730,000 per year for about 110 vets. He is flabbergasted by their timidity—and the bureaucracy's rigidity. "The veterans are afraid of taking too much," he says. "I keep saying, 'No, this is what you are entitled to. You risked your life for us.'"

Meanwhile, Douglas continues to photograph graves—and to ready his Web site. Inspired by his efforts, Australians and New Zealanders have launched similar sites: volunteers now take pictures of headstones from all Commonwealth nations. Canadian Ralph McLean has single-handedly taken snaps from the Prairies to North Africa. ("It's my way of giving back," he says.) Douglas himself plans on sticking with the project until the end. "Every time you hear from someone who has seen a photo you sent—that keeps you going."

Danson, in turn, lauds Douglas's efforts. Some of his closest wartime friends are buried in that Calais cemetery. And he can foresee a day when schools will use the Maple Leaf Legacy site to display the graves of yesterday's graduates to today's youth. "To me," he says with a poignant pause, "it is like walking into holy ground." Even tough guy Richard Janigan would be pleased. M

Mary Janigan's column appears every other issue. mjanigan@macleans.ca

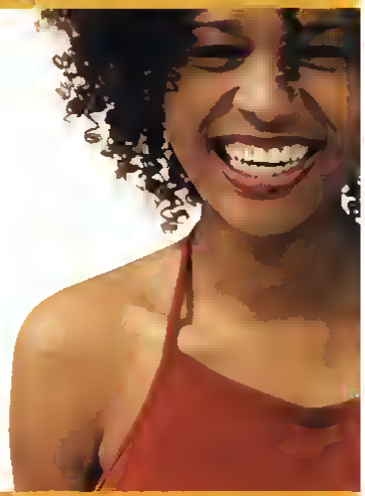




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THE BRIDE WORE BLOOD

Quentin revels in retribution while Clint questions vigilante justice

WE KNOW we're in for something special right from the opening shot. Uma Thurman on the floor, breathing hard in black-and-white, her face dirty with blood—a bride who takes a bullet to the head on her wedding day. Cue the music: Nancy Sinatra crooning Sonny and Cher's *Bang Bang (My Baby Shot Me Down)* in a voice as smooth as scotch, while the opening titles announce, with mock fanfare, that this is "The 4th film by Quentin Tarantino." With *Reservoir Dogs* and *Pulp Fiction*, Tarantino changed (some would say disfigured) the face of American cinema. He gave us cruelty choreographed to '70s pop, verbose gangsters who debated the infidelity of a foot massage, and compound profanity that crackled like semi-automatic bebop. Then, after *Jackie Brown* (1997), his studious rendering of Elmore Leonard, Tarantino fell off the map for five years, amid rumours that he was lost in a marijuana daze of overblown and unfinished scripts. Finally, in a marathon shoot beset by cost overruns and tales of chaos on the set, he filmed *Kill Bill*, a samurai epic that grew so fat he had to slice it in two. Having seen this first installment, I can report that it was worth the wait. *Kill Bill, Volume 1* is a gas.





Thurman plays an assassin on a rampage; Penn is a vengeful father

The movie is Tarantino's bloody valentine to the "grindhouse" movies that inspired him to become a director—samurai spectacles, Japanese anime, Chinese kung fu, and Italian westerns. It draws on the same samurai roots that Sergio Leone once plundered to create the spaghetti westerns that launched Clint Eastwood's career as an avenging warrior. And the score is laced with signature riffs from Ennio Morricone, Leone's favorite composer. Eastwood, meanwhile, has mellowed over the years, and his new film, *Mystic River* (which I'll touch on later), offers a dignified and revisionist view of vigilante justice. By contrast, *Kill Bill* is a giddy, blood-drenched celebration of revenge, a pure action movie that some will undoubtedly condemn as too violent. It's true, this movie's a far cry from the blood-free ballet of *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*. But it's eye candy of the highest order. And Uma Thurman kicks butt with more ruthless, unrelenting conviction than any action heroine in Hollywood history.

She stars as a character known simply as the Bride—and as Black Mamba, her code name in something called the Deadly Viper Assassination Squad. Bill (David Carradine), whose face remains off-camera in *Volume 1*, is the squad's sinister mastermind, who puts a bullet in the Bride's head for reasons not yet apparent. She and her unborn child are left for dead as her wedding party is massacred in an El Paso chapel. But after four years in a coma, the Bride springs back into action, drawing up a hit list of five Viper targets—ranging from Copperhead (Vivica A. Fox), a black trash American mom, to Cottonmouth (Lucy Liu), a sophisticated Japanese mobster. The action kicks off with a brutal knife fight in Copperhead's suburban living room, only to be interrupted as a school bus drops off her four-year old daughter. It's jarring to see children in a Tarantino film. There's also an exquisite 15-minute section of Japanese anime, in which Liu's character as a young girl witnesses the gangland murder of her

COURTESY ALLIANCE ATLANTIS (TOP); COURTESY WARNER BROS. ENT

father. Though animated, it's the movie's most violent, and beautiful, sequence, as the screen literally rains blood.

With a looping narrative arranged in titled chapters, the action builds to a spectacular showdown in a Japanese nightclub. By then, Thurman is a raging blond samurai in a yellow jumpsuit—pinwheeling through a horde of Japanese yakuza in black suits (as in *Reservoir Dogs*) and black Karo masks (as in *The Green Hornet*). Again, Tarantino gleefully paints the screen with blood, spraying from decapitated limbs and heads, as if from a hose with a thumb pressed over the nozzle.

Amid the comic overkill, there are touches of disarming subtlety, as the camera catches the slightest tremor of fear in Thurman's eyes. Tarantino is more in love with the high shimmery sound of a blade being drawn from a scabbard than with the slash of steel on flesh. As a director, he's something of a samurai himself, making a fetish of ritual and carving images with backhanded finesse. At one point he cuts from an orgy of violence to a moonlit garden blanketed in white. Big soft flakes drift down in silence as a duel unfolds with Zen minimalism, each wound a brushstroke of blood on snow.

Tarantino challenges our preconceptions of what's art and what's cheese. Shot in Japan, China and California, *Kill Bill* samples and resamples cliché, spinning genres into a silken pulp—pulp fiction in the literal sense—threaded with a soundtrack of vivid irony. Tarantino's production company, A Band Apart, is named after an early film by Jean-Luc Godard. Godard's most recent movie, *In Praise of Love*, charged that because Americans have no history they steal from other cultures. But Tarantino's gonzo appropriation transcends theft.

TARANTINO'S samurai epic is a gas. Eastwood's plainly realistic drama has Oscar potential

Eastwood's *Mystic River* is an utterly different kind of picture, a plainly realist drama. The story concerns three childhood friends—Jimmy (Sean Penn), Dave (Tim Robbins), and Sean (Kevin Bacon)—whose lives intersect in tragic circumstances. Sean is a cop trying to solve the murder of Jimmy's 19-year-old daughter. The investigation unfolds in the shadow of another crime, an incident of brutal abuse that took place 25 years earlier when Dave was abducted as a child. Eastwood directs *Mystic River* as a character-driven mood piece set in a highly atmospheric blue-collar Boston. Penn tends to overplay his role as the vengeful father, but Robbins, cast against type, is brilliant as the weak and tormented Dave.

Mystic River is generating a lot of serious attention as a heartland drama that, like *Unforgiven*, has Eastwood questioning the American virtue of retribution. I found it solid but workmanlike, nothing to get excited about. But don't be surprised if, come Oscar time, it's *Mystic River*, not *Kill Bill*, that is deemed the more important movie. M

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TWO MINUTES FOR FLAILING

As a rookie referee—at 52—I soon learned there's nowhere to hide

I'M NOT SURE WHY I decided to become a hockey referee at the age of 52. Maybe I thought it would help me stay fit, remain connected to hockey, or keep me busy as I think about my retirement from high-school teaching. Or maybe I just wanted to satisfy my masochistic tendencies.

I had assumed that officiating would be easy and that hockey leagues would jump at the chance to hire me. Although I had no refereeing credentials or experience, I have played and watched hockey my entire life. There in lay the depth of my expertise.

My ego suffered the first of many blows when my e-mail to the Greater Toronto Hockey League received no reply. So much for my inflated opinion of myself. After a few weeks I phoned the manager of officiating. His advice? Enrol in a beginner's class.

I signed up for a Level 1 course last autumn at the Canadian Hockey Officiating Program (since renamed the Hockey Canada Officiating Program). I surveyed the classroom and found myself surrounded by youngsters wearing their hats backwards (or is that the normal way these days?) and pants that threatened to fall to the floor. I couldn't help but ask myself what I was doing amid such a throng, with my pants pulled up so high and my head hatless. Still, determined to become a hockey referee, I continued with the course.

The quality of instruction I received was first-rate. My teachers did an outstanding job of explaining the basic rules and procedures. I moved on and, after completing Level 2, I sent my resumé to the North York Hockey League. After giving me a tryout—and reassuring me that I wouldn't be a total embarrassment on ice—the North York league hired me. I was a referee.

As a long-time hockey player, I felt I had crossed over to the other side. Even my hockey-playing buddies were baffled that I wanted to take to the ice with a whistle instead of a stick.

My first game was novice level, eight-year-old competitors. One minute into the game, I slipped and lost my balance at centre ice. Flailing my arms and legs, I desperately tried to defy gravity, but to no avail; I fell flat on my backside. The crowd of 100 spectators roared and I learned my first practical lesson: the referee has nowhere to hide. My performance only got worse. I forgot almost everything I learned and I could barely remember which direction each team was headed. Every time the play went one way, I went the other. I was clearly out of my league during this apprenticeship stage. I felt like Mr. Magoo, bumbling and nearly blind, on ice. As for the degrading comments hurled at me, years of teaching had taught me the art of selective hearing.

I eventually learned that positioning and anticipation were key elements to effective officiating. Sometimes I learned the hard way. During one fast-paced game, I was near the players' bench as a youngster skated toward me. With nowhere to move, I was knocked down and I fell back into the players' box. Tears of pain filled my eyes. Not for one second, though, did I take my eyes off the play. Hockey referees have to be tough.

I had always assumed that the referee—constantly in the middle of the action—had the best seat in the house. I was wrong. In fact, players often block the referee's vision. I also learned that the ref must maintain the flow of the game, keep one eye on the puck and the other on the players, watch and remember the play, react immediately, interpret Hockey Canada's referee's rule book instantaneously, and look out for everyone's safety.

Every move a referee makes is scrutinized—and often criticized. One of my supervisors once said that officiating is the only job where everyone expects you to be perfect the first time and improve thereafter. Teaching never seemed this difficult.

If the North York league is any indication, minor hockey is committed to the growth and development of referees and, ultimately, the game of hockey. I was supervised and evaluated 11 times during last year's hockey season—twice by Dean Warren, an NHL referee. His role in the minor leagues is indicative of the support and encouragement demonstrated by other supervisors and officials I met.

My first season as a referee is now only a memory. I was fortunate to receive the support of many fellow officials—most of them younger and almost all better than I am. I'm proud of my progress. The number and kind of games assigned to me last season reflected this improvement. Determined to get even better, I completed a four-day intensive course this summer.

I am equally proud to be one of the oldest rookies in the history of the North York league. Although I have succeeded, the bouts of nervousness before each game have not been forgotten. Occasionally I stay awake at night, replaying my most humbling moments. But despite the anxiety and the pressure of officiating minor hockey, I can hardly wait for the puck to drop this season. M

Elmer Rosenberg teaches and referees in Toronto. To comment: overtoyou@macleans.ca

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Café society | Finding the higher ground in Saint John

If you've already seen the reversing falls in Saint John, N.B., you might want to drop by the other hot tourist attraction: the Hemp N.B.'s Cannabis Café, where you can flare up a doobie, if you can find a seat. Last month, with cruise ships still docking on the Saint John waterfront, the head shop and pot-friendly coffee bar was averaging some 200 customers a day. Many were "just looking." But anyone who buys a beverage can pull out their own stash, and roll a joint on the big tables provided for just that purpose.

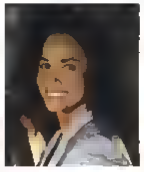
Lynn and Jim Wood at the popular Hemp N.B.'s Cannabis Café

Making matters more interesting is the fact that, just weeks ago, the café became the country's first out-in-the open, over-the-counter medical marijuana dispensary. In order to score, all you need is a sworn statement that you suffer from any one of 300 or so ailments—from cancer to dandruff—which the cafe's owners feel can be alleviated by cannabis use. "Just about everything is on that list," says **Jim Wood**, 34, who co-owns the place with his wife, **Lynn**, 30. "And chances are if your illness isn't on that list, you suffer from something that is."

None of this is legal. But Wood says the police don't hassle "compassion clubs" that exist elsewhere in the country, so they should leave him alone too. And while five patrons were arrested back in May when the cafe first opened, there haven't been any problems since. In fact, they've recently moved to a new location across the street from a police station. "People see this as a photo op now," says Wood, "especially if there's a police car parked out front." JOHN DEMONT

Justice | Papa was a rolling stoner

Canadian actress **Rae Dawn Chong** says she's "a little mad" at her father, comedian and legendary stoner **Tommy Chong**. After a sting operation targeted the elder Chong's Gardena, Calif., glass factory, he was fined $27,500 and sentenced to nine months in a California penitentiary for selling bongs over the Internet. "Why didn't he just start his business in Canada?" says Rae Dawn, 42, who's in Toronto, working on the TV drama *Wild Card*. "I don't know what he was thinking."



Chong says her Edmonton-born father decided to plead guilty after U.S. authorities threatened his Canadian wife (not Rae Dawn's mother) and son with deportation. Along with friends and supporters, Chong's efforts are focused on getting the 65-year-old actor transferred to a less brutal institution than the notorious Corcoran state penitentiary. "I know my dad isn't innocent, but it's just indicative of what's so terribly wrong with [America] these days. Anything that they can stretch into a threat to national security, they do." STEVE BURGESS

TURKEY TALK

For Toronto's healthy-cooking queen, **Bonnie Stern**, Thanksgiving dinner is about improvisation. For many years, Stern would prepare turkey at a cottage, using a 50 year-old stove that jumped to a temperature of 700° F even when the dial was set at 350. "It acted like a wood-burning pizza oven," says the 55 year-old author (*Bonnie Stern's Essentials of Home Cooking* comes out this month). "We learned to adapt." Here are Stern's suggestions for hosting the feast under less-than perfect conditions, whether it be in a rustic cottage or a tiny apartment:



- Cold appetizers are oven space-savers.
- Wooden planks and large stones make great serving dishes.
- Use acorns, stones and such for decorating. That way the kids can be part of it too.
- Fulfill your **Martha Stewart** impulses by making your own cranberry sauce. "It's easy and fun because it pops as it cooks."
- If the power goes out, use the barbecue. Either roast the whole turkey with the lid down, or get rid of the bones and just grill the meat.

KARIN MARLEY

PHOTOGRAPH BY MARK HEMMINGS (TOP); COURTESY OF CTV
ILLUSTRATION BY CLAUDIA DAVILA



John Intini starts a sentence ... Joan Rivers finishes it

No matter if you love or loathe Joan Rivers, there's no denying the red carpet wouldn't be the same without her. The 70-year-old New Yorker and queen of the one-liners is in Toronto next week to perform with fellow comedian **Don Rickles** at the Humming bird Centre. She spoke with *Maclean's* Re searcher Reporter **John Intini**

RIGHT NOW I'M WEARING . . . Tom Cruise's underwear.

THE BEST FASHION TREND OF ALL TIME THAT NEVER CAUGHT ON WAS . . . wearing a man's wallet over your heart.

TAPING BREASTS . . . to what? I've never had them so you've lost me.

A GREAT DRESS . . . makes you look thinner, sexier and rich.

A NEW YORKER'S ACCENT . . . What accent, eh?

IF I WASN'T A PERFORMER I D . . . probably be locked away.

THE RED CARPET . . . needs vacuuming.

I MISS . . . my youth. He left last night at 11:30 and my watch is missing.

The queen of the red carpet performs in Toronto on Oct. 15

For more "Finish the sentences" visit *www.macleans.ca/people*

Life and Times | The man who changed professional hockey



Former Toronto Maple Leafs defenceman **Carl Brewer** was arguably the most influential hockey player of his generation. As *The Good Fight, a Life and Times* profile (Oct. 7 on CBC and Oct. 11 on Newsworld), reminds us, the four-time all-star spent his retirement spearheading efforts to boost player salaries, reclaim misappropriated pension funds for old-timers and send disgraced union boss Alan Eagleson to jail. His trail-blazing also helped make today's players rich, yet not one attended his funeral in 2001. Brewer deserved better.

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Matt Mays, Matt Mays (Warner Music, Oct 21)
Full of steel guitar and harmonica, the debut solo CD of this 24-year-old country-rocker—who won the 2003 rising star award at Toronto's NXNE music festival—does not disappoint.

Films by Michael Ondaatje (Mongrel Media)
A new DVD collection features three movies the author shot in the '70s, including *The Clinton Special, A Film About The Farm Show,* and the docudrama, *Carry on Crime and Punishment.*





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People | The strong, silent type

Lili Taylor is an intense listener. She leans in, nods, agrees—but talking about herself doesn't seem to come as naturally. She's vague and speaks with a real urgency, as if she can't wait to finish the sentence and put the onus back on you. Maybe that's why director **John Sayles** chose her to play Leslie in his latest film, *Casa de los Babys*, which features a powerhouse female ensemble made up of **Daryl Hannah, Maggie Gyllenhaal, Mary Steenburgen, Marcia Gay Harden** and Taylor. While all the other actresses get juicy, emotional speeches in which their characters lay out their motivations for and frustrations about adopting babies from Latin America, Leslie, a single Manhattan book editor, gives away nothing. "She wouldn't do that," says Taylor, 36, "she wouldn't lay herself vulnerable like that."

And neither will this New York actress. On the question of having kids, she says, "They're complicated things and they're things I don't even feel like delving into." What she will open up about is her pug dog, Gulliver. "He just sort of dropped out of the sky," she says. "I saw him running in the middle of the street and he went right into my arms." It took Taylor five days to track down the owners. "By then, I was attached. I said, 'I'll make you a deal,' and they sold him." Seems Taylor's more maternal than she lets on.

SHANDA DEZIEL

ESSENTIAL TAYLOR

1. Penned 63 songs about Joe in the seminal '80s flick *Say Anything*
2. Failed assassin, Valerie Solanas, in *I Shot Andy Warhol*
3. *Six Feet Under*'s hippie-moralist Lisa Kimmel

Books | STEALTH ABUSE

Munchausen syndrome takes its name from Karl von Munchausen, an 18th-century German soldier famous for the outrageous series of lies he told about his alleged exploits. Those who suffer from the mental disorder feign or produce illness in themselves to gain attention and control over others. Bad as this is, it's not nearly as heartbreaking as Munchausen by proxy (MBP), when sufferers—usually mothers—produce the symptoms in substitutes—mostly their own children. American writer Julie Gregory's *Sickened* (Bantam) tells of a childhood spent in emergency wards and operating theatres. Her mother's persuasive powers and her willingness to poison her daughter—from an early age Julie was taught to eat match heads—meant years of unnecessary surgeries and potentially lethal medication. It was all so routine to Gregory that it was only in adulthood that she understood the truth, a realization that sent her spiralling into a breakdown. After her recovery, she wrote this eloquent but horrific account of her life.



BestSellers

Fiction

		POSITION LAST WEEK
1.	**THE WAY THE CROW FLIES,** Ann-Marie MacDonald (2)	2
2.	**THE CURIOUS INCIDENT OF THE DOG IN THE NIGHT-TIME,** Mark Haddon (14)	6
3.	**RIVER OF THE BROKENHEARTED,** David Adams Richards (7)	10
4.	**QUICKSILVER,** Neal Stephenson (1)	
5.	**THE MURDER ROOM,** P.D. James (10)	1
6.	**GARBO LAUGHS,** Elizabeth Hay (4)	7
7.	**THE DA VINCI CODE,** Dan Brown (19)	5
8.	**THE TEETH OF THE TIGER,** Tom Clancy (6)	3
9.	**DEAFENING,** Frances Itani (4)	4
10.	**THE ISLAND WALKERS,** John Bemrose (1)	

Non-fiction

1.	**GOD'S SECRETARIES,** Adam Nicolson (6)	6
2.	**STUPID WHITE MEN,** Michael Moore (82)	1
3.	**THE MEANING OF EVERYTHING,** Simon Winchester (2)	2
4.	**THE PERILOUS TRADE,** Roy Macskimming (2)	9
5.	**LIES AND LYING LIARS WHO TELL THEM,** Al Franken (1)	
6.	**KATE REMEMBERED,** A. Scott Berg (11)	4
7.	**THE GROUP OF SEVEN AND TOM THOMSON,** David Silcox (4)	8
8.	**LANGUAGE VISIBLE,** David Sacks (4)	5
9.	**STALIN,** Simon Sebag Montefiore (9)	7
10.	**KRAKATOA,** Simon Winchester (26)	3

() Weeks on list
Compiled by Brian Bethune

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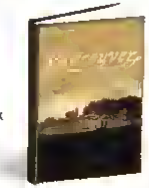
THANK YOU

Books | Vancouver's hefty history

It's all too easy to think of Vancouver as an instant city—just add salt water, and stir. Most of its grand old architecture—including such Depression-era piles as the Marine Building and the City Hall—is barely of pensionable age. The city incorporated in 1886, then promptly caught fire, obliterating what history there was.

Ah, but what Vancouver now has is its very own epic historical novel, thanks to the industry and imagination of David Cruise and Alison Griffiths. At more than 750 pages, *Vancouver* is quite a brick. A thing like that lands on your desk, quite literally a seismic event in publishing, and you have to ask: Do I love my city enough to read all that?

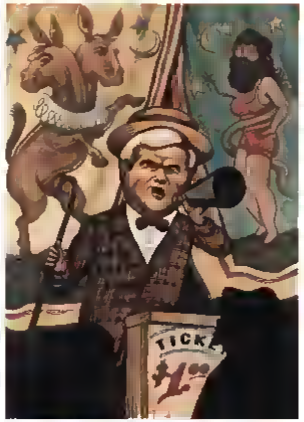
The answer is a resounding "yes" even before finishing the first chapter. Some 14,000 years before the birth of Christ, Tooke, a wayward ice-age African, stumbles, via Asia, over the Bering land bridge to North America. There's a risk of losing readers in the mists of time, but Cruise and Griffiths—in their first novel after seven non-fiction best-sellers—gracefully succeed in rooting a young city to its past. *Vancouver* is told in 12 interwoven chapters from the southward migration of Tooke's grandson Manto to the modern-day Ellie Nesbut, perhaps a way-distant relative, working her way out of the Downtown Eastside.



Between Tooke and Nesbut, the novel—thick as the city's phone book—is peopled with compelling rogues, dreamers and accidental tourists. Some are fictional inventions and others thinly disguised Vancouver sharpies. Their stories, rooted in the realities of the day, ring true. History is rarely the stuff of grand schemes; it's what survives after the present veers off the rails. Scotsman Darrog Wiley, trapper and slave trader, had no ambition to be saviour of Fort Langley. Chinese peasant Soon Chong, a 19th-century congee seller, would have choked on his rice gruel had he known the forces that would carry him to Vancouver's Chinatown. Nanak Singh had no plans to desert the British Army but, hey, stuff happens.

Plenty of stuff. In the epic tradition of James Michener, the story sails on the ill winds of nature and of man. Fiction lets the authors play with what they call the "innumerable 'what ifs' " of Vancouver history. It's the past that could have been—no less fascinating than the future that might be.

KEN MACQUEEN



LISTING

Canadian Counterpoint: Illustrations by Anita Kunz
Until Jan. 3

Anita Kunz is no stranger to the American magazine cover. Her illustrations have long appeared in *The New Yorker* and other publications, including *Maclean's*. Now, the Toronto-based artist is being honoured by the Library of Congress. Kunz, 47, is the first Canadian to get a solo show at the library's Swann Gallery for Caricature and Cartoon, where 15 of her works are on display.

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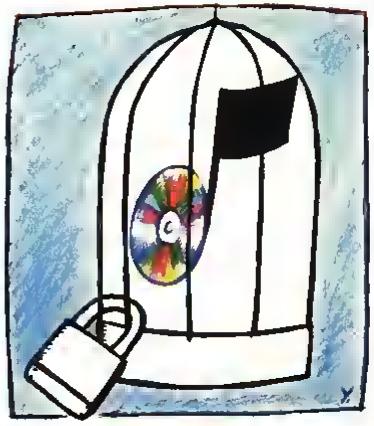
HAVE YOU HEARD?

Canada's socially conscious rapper K-os (pictured) will appear on the new album by British electronica gods, the **Chemical Brothers**. Montreal's **Gavin McInnes**, co-founder of *Vice* magazine, is described in a *New York Times* profile as leaning "much further to the right than the Republican party. His views are closer to a white supremacist's"; Canadian blues musician **Colin Linden** (of Blackie and the Rodeo Kings) is a guitar-playing priest in the new Coen Brothers movie, *Intolerable Cruelty* (Oct. 10). Sum 41's **Deryck Whibley** broke off his romance with hotel heiress **Paris Hilton**. Whibley's entire Ajax, Ont., band will do an animated guest spot on *King of the Hill*, as Christian punk rockers. Nelly Furtado had a baby girl, Nevis, with her boyfriend, Toronto DJ Jasper Gahunia.



ILLUSTRATION BY ANITA KUNZ, MARGARET MALANDRUCCOLO

Piracy | Don't touch the Barenaked Ladies



Dear Warner Bros.,

I hope you don't mind me writing to both of you at once. Thanks so much for the free Barenaked Ladies CD, and for the very thoughtful letter that came with it. How are you holding up? I'm so sorry to hear about your recent troubles with pirates. Let's hope you catch them before they steal any more of your music.

I was honoured to receive a special "watermarked" copy of the new CD. Is this like a limited edition? If so, I'm not sure what to do with it. Your letter warns me not to copy it, or play it on my computer, or upload it to the Internet. You also tell me not to "allow, or make, the CD or any part of it available on the Internet," which seems to amount to the same thing. The letter goes on to say, "You agree that you will not lend this CD to anyone, and that you will only use this CD for promotional purposes and will play the CD only for authorized individuals in connection with those promotional purposes."

Well, I'm dying to hear this new album from the Barenaked Ladies, because they're so droll and musical, and they live in my Toronto neighbourhood, and I hear they've recorded a song about people jumping off the Bloor Viaduct, which used to happen a lot before the city put up big steel barriers. In fact, I wish I could listen to the CD right now on the office computer that I'm using to write this letter. It's so nice to slip on a pair of headphones and listen to music at work, especially if it's music that I'm writing about. But you've made it pretty clear that putting this special watermarked disc into my CD drive would be inadvisable. I could listen to it at the gym on my iPod, but that's a computer, too, isn't it? So you wouldn't be very happy about that.

I guess you'd prefer if I played it in the privacy of my own home. Fortunately, we do still have a stereo (although I hear that soon we'll be listening to everything on computers). The problem is, I don't live alone. If I play the CD at home, my wife is bound to hear it, and you've asked me to play it only for "authorized individuals." She's not authorized! Actually, I find the best place to hear music is in the ear, and I'm going on a road trip this weekend. But again, I won't be alone—perhaps my wife would agree to wear earplugs. That sounds risky, though. Some sound might seep in, and I'm sure that's how piracy starts. One minute you're humming a tune that you overheard somewhere, and before you know it, it's on the Internet.

Just to be safe, I could listen to the CD only when I'm home alone. Yet there's one thing that still worries me. Your letter instructs me to "only use this CD for promotional purposes," which seems a little restrictive. Are you sure you don't mean emotional purposes? Those Ladies have some catchy tunes, and if I suddenly found myself dancing... well, that's not exactly promotional, is it?

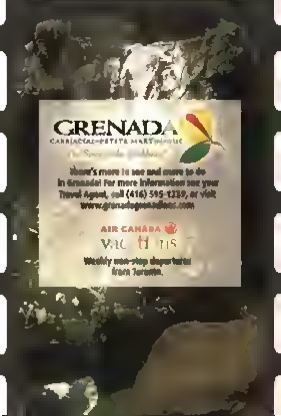
> "I'm going to put my special watermarked CD away in a locked drawer—that way nobody will get hurt"

So I've decided the whole thing is just not worth the risk. I'm going to put my special watermarked CD away in a locked drawer—don't worry, I won't leave it lying around. That way nobody will get hurt. I'm aware that the war on piracy, like the war on drugs and the war on terrorism, will not be easily won. We all have to make sacrifices, and I'm willing to do my part.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON

ILLUSTRATION BY YAYO







I'VE SEEN THIS FILM BEFORE

A British leader hangs on as a contender cools his heels. Sound familiar?

WHEN THE CHALLENGE to the prime minister's job came from a trusted ally turned dangerous rival, all of Britain was waiting for it. And to a visiting Canadian, the spectacle was oddly familiar.

I spent last week at the annual Labour Party conference in Bournemouth. Tony Blair was in a lake of trouble. Much of it was his own making. Some was stirred up by his most powerful minister, Gordon Brown. And just in case there's anyone left in Britain who didn't already know their back story, television filled it in for them on the eve of the convention. The British broadcasting event of the season was *The Deal*, the dynamite new made-for-TV film directed by Stephen Frears (*Dangerous Liaisons*). Like the earlier work, this one features letter-writing and betrayal. But its central characters are not only real, they're busy these days: Blair and Brown, the glowering Scot who came to Parliament with him in 1983 and helped him create New Labour.



The titular deal is supposed to have been struck in 1994. Labour's revered but stodgy leader John Smith was dead of a heart attack. Blair and Brown wanted to remake the rickety party into a serious 21st-century electoral machine. But only one could run if their reform faction could be sure of winning.

Maybe it should have been Brown, two years older, with stronger intellectual and partisan credentials. But Blair had the smile and the charm. In a trendy Islington restaurant—or so the legend, lovingly re-created by Frears, has it—the two men reached an agreement. Blair would run. Brown would stand down in return for unprecedented clout in the role of chancellor of the exchequer, or finance minister. But at the right moment Blair would step aside so Brown could take over the top job.

That moment was to be the middle of New Labour's second term in office. In other words, right about now.

Yet Blair isn't going anywhere. Bloodied in the polls, bruised over the Iraq war, beaten last month in a by-election Labour should not have lost, the prime minister is digging in his heels. He has begun talking not only about a third term, but about a generation of Labour dominance.

So what's a frustrated, popular finance minister to do? If Brown really didn't know, Paul Martin could have told him: he starts to push.

Brown's behaviour last week dominated the headlines, but might not earn him full marks under "Plays well with others." At the conference, he delivered a magnificent, brooding speech, more Old Testament than Old Labour, in which he mercilessly flattered the party's left-wing, working-class base. In less than an hour, he managed to pronounce the word "Labour" 62 times, adorning it only once with the hated Blairite adjective "New."

During the prime minister's own speech the next day, Brown glowered and chewed his lip, keeping his applause to a minimum. Blair's speech was at least the match of Brown's, yet he was hardly done before pro-Brown backbench MPs fanned out to tell the news cameras the PM had delivered a stinkeroo whose greatest defect was its failure to praise the chancellor.

And what about the Stephen Frears movie? In a television interview, Blair hotly denied that there had been a deal. Brown didn't. He's not in the business of discussing private conversations, he said, letting the little black cloud of doubt stay hovering over his boss's character.

To all of which a Canadian scribe can only say: hey, I've played in this film before. For Labour, it is March 2000.

That was the moment of the Liberal Party of Canada's last convention. Jean Chrétien looked like he would be around a bit longer. Paul Martin was feeling the years pass. There were meetings. There was skulduggery. There were MPs calling on the big guy to pack his bags. There were denials, some flagrantly disingenuous. It's all in Ottawa reporter Susan Delacourt's extraordinary new book, *Juggernaut*, about which more soon. And three years later a changing of the guard is underway, whether Chrétien bloody well likes it or not.

It will come as no surprise that Paul Martin sees Gordon Brown as a kindred spirit. This is only proper. They held the same job in two different G7 countries for half a decade. They worked on big files like Third World debt relief together. They tend to read a lot, preferring non-fiction. Neither can bring himself to get with the boss's program—because neither is sure the boss deserves to be boss.

It is hard to believe that the story of Blair and Brown can end much differently than the story of Chrétien and Martin. In both cases, a man who has had his chance to govern, and therefore to disappoint. In both cases, a man who hasn't been able to do either. Yet

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ILLUSTRATION BY A SLACK

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